

The Leader.

"The one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—*Humboldt's Cosmos*.

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SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1852.

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News of the Week.

MINISTERS have not improved their position by their feats on the hustings. In their speeches, they have shirked the main topic, Free-trade, which occupies the public mind, and have ridden off on other matters. Mr. Secretary Walpole, Sir Frederick Thesiger, and the Marquis of Chandos, relied on antagonism to Parliamentary Reform, thus doing the best thing they could to restore Lord John Russell to public favour. Mr. Henley dexterously evaded all attempts to entrap him into a confession; while the late whipper-in, Mr. Secretary-at-War Beresford, boasted of his intimacy with Lord Derby, and declared for a moderate fixed duty. Mr. Herries was as obscure as an omelette; but Mr. George Banks beat all his colleagues in dexterity, showing how impossible it was for an election audience to fix a candidate who has temper and coolness enough not to heed any interruption or answer any question. The people asked for a definite statement of his views, and he gave them a string of jokes. Mr. Christopher comes before us again, but adds nothing to his previous declaration,—that Lord Derby will reverse the policy of Free-trade if he can, and as soon as he can. One thing is very noticeable in these meetings—the absence of enthusiasm on the part of the audience. There was a gloom and tameness around the hustings. It was only when a few farmers were gathered together at the market-table that the cheering was at all of the hopeful kind. The impression made on the mind is, that the constituencies are either depressed or indifferent,—depressed where favourable to any candidate, indifferent and disposed to jest where unfavourable. This is significant. The Tories already feel the weight of office.

In Ireland, Mr. Whiteside has carried the day by a bare majority of nine. Lord Naas meets with determined opposition, but anticipates a "respectable majority." Apart from the ministerial appeals, there is a general electioneering ferment throughout the country.

And the Russell interest is rising again. It is not only Lord John that will not believe in his own death, but the "Liberals" of the old school cling to him with a widowed incredulity in his decease. The meeting at his house in Chesham-place shows how willing they are to accept a leader who has already kept them back so many years.

[TOWN EDITION.]

Not that the party was unanimous; more than one man, better acquainted than Lord John with the popular feeling, plainly told him that the old fruitless tactics would not do. Still the general body, some hundred and fifty strong, went with him in adopting the tactics of the Manchester League, and making the whole policy of Liberalism turn at present on the maintenance of Free-trade. Reform itself is postponed, after all Lord John's pains on his great work, the Reform Bill No. II. Verily he has discovered the extent to which that measure would have enlarged the suffrage, and shrinks back from his own audacity. Be that as it may, Lord John adopts that mistaken policy which seeks to fight the new Ministry on the ground where they anticipate defeat, and are almost prepared to concede; while it lets them off on the ground where they are prepared to be obstinate, and could not escape by their own will. There is no serious alarm on the subject of Free-trade, but there is serious apprehension that the late Prime Minister is dropping the subject of Reform, and that, what is worse, more ardently professing Liberals are prepared to connive at the desertion. But there is a Nemesis for all such outrages of destiny: if neither the Ministers nor the Anti-Ministers come before the country with a leading question, a host of questions will arise to distract electoral England, and the general election may return a parliament excited to be very troublesome towards the two great dinner-parties in the State who alternate on the Treasury and Anti-Treasury benches.

The calling out of the Yeomanry to exercise, is a concession to the recent call for activity in the matter of national defences. Recent, we say, because the interest on the subject has unquestionably died off in a great degree, and we see little of it except the reflex surviving in the advertisements of tradesmen who offer rifle uniforms for sale, or the meetings to petition *against* national defence. The public, exhausted with its effort at old English spirit, is content to await the coming of a calamity before it can be at the trouble of any sustained exertion. Official men rejoice in that apathy of the public; but if they were moved by genuine ambition, they would grieve over it; since it is only an animated people that affords opportunity for greatness in its rulers. It is a miserable charioteer that prefers to drive dull horses.

The High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire has established a case against Lord Campbell, who had made it a serious offence that a Roman-catholic sheriff

should appear with a Roman-catholic chaplain! Not only does the conduct of Mr. Scott Murray appear to have been perfectly legal, and the remarks of Lord Campbell perfectly improper and constitutionally unsound, but there are precedents for the course adopted by Mr. Murray. Lord Campbell's observations would repeal the Relief Act of 1829. If the Protestant religion be the religion of the judges, obviously, no Roman-catholic barrister could arrive at the honours of the Bench. Mr. Scott Murray convicts Lord Campbell of intemperance and bigotry—or the affectation of bigotry.

The growing interest felt in the question of reproductive labour for paupers may be estimated from the fact, that the plan has been smartly abused by a morning contemporary, and that it has attracted a considerable number of supporters from the ranks of the clergy. The Manchester meeting, this week, is further test of the spread and acceptance of the idea.

The calamity at Holmfirth has awakened attention to the state of the neighbouring reservoir, called the Holmstye; which Captain Moody had pronounced to be unsafe. The local commissioners, in whom the management vests, had already begun to reduce the height of water, and at a public meeting of the inhabitants, they were compelled, by the general expression of feeling, to promise that it should be drawn off altogether; the only course really secure. Meanwhile, the inhabitants petitioned Parliament to enforce a stronger responsibility on the commissioners. To us it appears that the whole question of extensive works, where private interest and the public safety or convenience are in conflict, should be overhauled and placed on a better basis. There is something absurd in the presence of a government officer to look at a calamity after it has happened, or even to survey a work before calamity, if he has not power to enforce needful measures.

If the pantomime of small men in large masks (poor France being the Pantaloons) were not destined to end tragically, we should be disposed to laugh aloud at the gigantic buffoonery of Napoleonism. Mendacity, fraud, corruption, violence, are the foundations of sand upon which a new era of prosperity is to be autocratically raised—the envy and admiration of misguided constitutionalism. When we read of elections being undertaken as a matter of business by that sanguinary *farceur*, M. Romieu—of magnanimous

circulars in the *Moniteur*, to prefects, who are at the same moment receiving *verbis vocis* instructions in Paris—of electors dragged out of their houses to vote for Government, or thrown into prison out of the way of opposition—of independent candidates forbidden to appear in any printed or public form, and of the friends of independent candidates, arrested for appearing at all—of votes declared null, and reckoned up again, so that the majority becomes transposed, and black, white,—is it not a stupendous farce, played on the stage of the most theatrical nation in the world, with all Europe for an audience, and all posterity for critics?

From one week to another, the only fact to be recorded is, that nothing is certain, and all may be expected. The financial crisis will come soon—perhaps not soon enough to be a warning. Trade languishes; State expenditure increases, as the ways and means decrease. No visionary land banks can appease the desperation of a famine-stricken and debt-ridden peasant proprietor—no forced compromise with the Bank of France can fill the yawning gulf of national bankruptcy.

This week, the *gobemouche* in Pall Mall, who live on rumours (the sillier the better), would have it that Count Walewski had been sent for by submarine telegraph, to assist in *shutting up* the Dictator as a lunatic! *La Patrie* has been obliged to set us right, by a paragraph to the effect that the Ambassador is absent from his post for ten days only, and on strictly private business, leaving the Countess in London as a hostage. Louis Bonaparte's disease has not yet reached his brain.

Lord Cowley, a man, we believe, of slightly liberal tendencies, is reported to have held firm and dignified language on the Swiss question. We shall be glad to owe Lord Malmesbury the tribute of surprise.

The completion of arrangements for Steam communication with Australia is a fact of the utmost importance to the Colonies, and also to a numerous and influential class in this country having relations, domestic or commercial, with our Southern dependencies. By offering to execute the service at a rate not only below all other offers, but below that at which it actually performs a less extensive service, the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company has obtained promotion to be a great administrative body, and has allied its fortunes, at a time of great events, with the progress of the empire. The facility of communication by post will effect a revolution in our commerce with Australia; which is now brought within a distance of voyage, in point of time, less than that of America ten or twelve years ago. But the facility for passengers is of still greater moment: Australians and England will no longer be strangers, made acquainted only by rare visits. Australia is now within the range of the grand tour. The improvement ought to be beneficial also to a numerous class—the emigrants; but Government does not encourage that class—will not even spend the cash in hand belonging to the Australians, for purposes of emigration; and we are not aware that any provision is made for the conveyance of emigrants by the fresh route; yet obviously it would be the better economy.

The criminal records of the week are fuller than usual of horrors, and the worst still relate to the class of illegitimate parentage—the result of laws parliamentary which are at variance with the laws divine. We do not allude to vulgar crimes like the outrage on a young woman, abandoned in the attack by a cowardly lubber who called himself her sweetheart, but to the horrible sacrifices of children—the child thrown by a farmer to his sow, and eaten; the child put into the fire by a stupid old profligate, its charred remains extricated by the police; and the two children buried alive by their parents, in Ireland—all to evade and conceal the consequences of a relation not recognised by law. Could the amount of child murder, in all its forms, not excepting the

anticipatory, be presented to the view, we should behold a doomed population, vast in numbers, and, where life is tasting, most wretched in its condition. We defend property, we protect credit, we keep police to guard the respectable classes, but who shall protect the innocent against parents depraved by ignorance and by instincts thwarted rather than disciplined? Our moral code has the face of purity and the nether deformity of the Sphinx—it is the true giant Moloch of the age.

LORD JOHN AND THE "LIBERALS."

A large body of Liberals of all shades, whose names will be found below, waited on Lord John Russell, pursuant to an invitation, on Thursday, with the view of coming to an understanding upon the line of tactics to be pursued in the House of Commons by those who are disposed to follow the lead of the late Premier.

Lord John opened his speech, by describing the new Cabinet as favourable to a protective policy; and urged that as Sir Robert Peel, in 1846, had called on him to state whether he intended to continue the free-trade policy, so he conceived they had a right to know the intentions of the Government. With this view he had written to ask Mr. Disraeli whether it was the intention of the Government to make any statement on Monday. Mr. Disraeli replied that they had no such intention. (Ironical cheers.) After this, Lord John had consulted Sir James Graham and Mr. Cobden, who both agreed that it was perfectly right to call on the Government for a statement of principles. He deprecated factious opposition, but it was of great importance that the intentions of Government should be known. To do this, Mr. Villiers had agreed to abandon his motion, and simply ask such questions as would elicit the views of ministers. Mr. Villiers rose at once, and concurred; Mr. Cobden rose, when called, and concurred: he was ready to sacrifice all other questions to the maintenance of free-trade. Mr. Hume, amidst partial disapprobation, said Lord John Russell ought to state the principles on which he meant to form a new Cabinet, supposing he ousted the present, pointedly mentioning a broad measure of parliamentary reform. Mr. Thomas Duncombe concurred with Mr. Hume, with this addition, that he could not approve of a policy which preferred free trade in corn to the greater question of the representation of the people in their own House. Roused by this, Mr. Bright concurred with Lord John as to present tactics, and hinted at parliamentary reform as next to free-trade. Sir De Lacy Evans and Mr. Mangles concurred. Delighted with this approval, Lord John threw out strong insinuations that if the Liberal party would only act unitedly, and trust him, he would some day construct them a government on a broad basis. He had previously informed his friends that he intended to withdraw his bill for representative reform.

The policy agreed on amounts to this: Mr. Villiers will ask on Monday for a statement of ministerial intentions; if they are unsatisfactory, it will be open to any Member to move a want of confidence, or a free-trade resolution, or a limitation of the supplies—to do that, in fact, which would compel a dissolution. The general feeling being in favour of a dissolution, and a re-assembling of Parliament in September next.

The following is a correct list of the names of the members present:—

Thos. Alcock, A. Anderson, Sir A. Armstrong, R. B. Armstrong, C. Anstey, John Bagshaw, Right Hon. M. T. Baines, M. T. Bass, J. Bell, R. M. Bellew, Hon. H. Berkeley, C. G. Berkeley, R. Bernal, Sir Thomas Birch, R. J. Blewitt, John Bright, J. Brotherton, H. Brown, W. Brown, Edward H. Bumby, P. S. Butler, Sir E. Buxton, J. B. Carter, Hon. C. Cavendish, G. H. Cavendish, Wm. Chaplin, Sir William Clay, James Clay, Colonel Clifford, Richard Cobden, Sir T. Colbroke, Wm. Collins, Hon. Wm. Cowper, R. Crowder, L. Dawes, Hon. T. V. Dawson, Sir C. Douglas, George Duff, James Duff, Sir J. Duke, George Duncan, T. S. Duncombe, Sir T. Dundas, Viscount Ebrington, John Ellis, Hon. G. Eliot, Viscount Enfield, Sir De L. Evans, Wm. Ewart, John Fergus, Hon. G. W. Fitzwilliam, Captain Forde, Matthew Forster, Hon. J. W. Fortescue, C. Fortescue, W. J. Fox, C. Geach, Right Hon. T. M. Gibson, G. C. Glynn, C. Grenfell, G. W. Grenfell, Sir G. Grey, R. V. Grey, Lord R. Grosvenor, Sir B. Hall, J. A. Hardcastle, R. Harris, Alex. Hastic, W. G. Hayter, T. E. Headlam, E. Heneage, James Heywood, Lord Marcus Hill, C. Hindley, T. B. Hobhouse, T. Law Hedges, R. Hollond, Lord G. Howard, Hon. C. Howard, Sir R. Howard, Joseph Hume, E. Hutchins, Jas. Kershaw, Right Hon. H. Labouchere, J. H. Langston, Sir C. Lemon, G. C. Lewis, Hon. G. Littleton, James Lock, C. Lushington, W. A. Mackinnon, John Mackie, the O'Gorman Mahon, R. D. Mangles, J. G. Marshall, William Marshall, John Martin, Colonel Matheson, Right Hon. Fox Maule, Viscount Melgund, Robert Milligan, T. A. Mitchell, Geo. Moffatt, Sir W. Molesworth, David Morris, Francis Mowatt, M. J. O'Connell, S. C. H. Ogle, Wm. Ord, Lord Alfred Paget, Lord Charles Paget, Lord George Paget, John Parker, F.

Peel, Edward Pendarves, Robert Perfect, Sir C. Pelling, Francis Pigott, Wm. Pinney, W. M. Power, Sir R. Price, John L. Ricardo, E. R. Rice, J. A. Rock, Colonel Romilly, Lord J. Russell, Hastings Russell, Capt. Scobell, G. P. Scrope, H. D. Seymour, Lord Seymour, R. T. Shafto, Earl Shelburne, Right Hon. R. V. Smith, M. Spearman, W. R. C. Stanfield, Sir George Staunton, Edward Strutt, Admiral Stewart, H. W. Taunay, R. J. Tennent, Colonel Thompson, George Thompson, Thos. Thornley, John Townley, Richard Townley, Captain Townshend, G. Trail, J. S. Trelawny, Right Hon. H. Tufnell, Lord H. Vane, Hon. C. P. Villiers, C. R. Wall, Sir J. Walmsley, Colonel Watkins, B. McGivern, Wm. Williams, Sir H. Williamson, James Wilson, Sir Charles Wood, Sir W. P. Wood, W. B. Wrighton, James Wyld, Marmaduke Wyvill.

Sir Alexander Cockburn was prevented from attending Lord John Russell's meeting from severe indisposition.

PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION.

The following tabular view of the numbers of the population and houses in the several counties, boroughs and towns of Great Britain returning members to Parliament, according to the census of 1851, is made up from a return just presented to the House of Commons by the late government as explanatory of the system which their Reform Bill was intended to amend:

COUNTIES.	Total population.	Inhabited houses.	Member Retained.	
			Co.	City.
Bedford	59,553	24,505	2	1
Berks	84,381	33,278	2	1
Bucks	81,154	33,332	3	1
Cambridge	92,590	37,067	3	1
Chester, N. and S.	222,286	85,260	4	1
Cornwall, E. and W.	171,636	67,987	4	1
Cumberland, E. and W.	96,244	36,763	4	1
Derby, N. and S.	147,737	59,371	4	1
Devon, N. and S.	269,583	98,387	4	1
Dorset	89,204	36,138	3	1
Durham, N. and S.	196,559	64,977	4	1
Essex, N. and S.	185,390	73,526	4	1
Gloucester, E. and W.	217,822	86,271	4	1
Hertford	65,114	23,890	3	1
Huntingdon	83,161	32,705	3	1
Kent, N. and S.	31,933	13,313	2	1
Lancaster, N. and S.	307,041	107,748	4	1
Leicester, N. and S.	991,091	349,938	4	1
Lincoln, N. and S.	112,937	45,963	4	1
Middlesex	205,183	81,355	4	1
Momouth	882,823	299,362	3	1
Norfolk, E. and W.	82,349	28,944	2	1
Northampton, N. and S.	215,254	65,244	4	1
Nottingham, N. and S.	105,994	43,942	4	1
Nottingham, N. and S.	149,454	47,737	4	1
Nottingham, N. and S.	132,381	55,063	4	1
Oxford	85,629	34,360	3	1
Rutland	11,801	4,588	2	1
Salop, N. and S.	114,340	45,648	4	1
Somerset, E. and W.	211,045	85,054	4	1
Southampton or Hants, N. and S., including the Isle of Wight	201,946	75,215	5	1
Stafford, N. and S.	309,966	116,948	4	1
Suffolk, E. and W.	166,201	69,285	4	1
Surrey, E. and W.	325,037	108,322	4	1
Sussex, E. and W.	165,772	58,063	4	1
Warwick, N. and S.	232,411	96,731	4	1
Westmoreland	29,079	11,317	2	1
Wiltts, N. and S.	126,027	51,778	4	1
Worcester, E. and W.	136,956	55,639	4	1
Wales (the three counties)	1,797,667	450,235	6	1
Wales (the 12 counties)	490,159	200,067	15	1
Scotland (32 counties)	1,375,668	311,608	30	1

The population and number of houses in the boroughs are also given as distinct from the counties, but having already given this information as illustration of the inequalities in the existing system of borough representation, we do not repeat it.

ELECTION MATTERS.

MR. BERESFORD, the Secretary at War, as had been anticipated, was re-elected for North Essex, on Tuesday, without any opposition. The hustings were erected in the Manor field, near the market-place, Braintree; and the orthodox course of nomination and seconding having been gone through, and no other candidate appearing, the High Sheriff declared Mr. Beresford duly elected. Mr. Beresford then addressed the assemblage, consisting of a few hundreds of the inhabitants of Braintree, at considerable length. He claimed a fair trial and fair play for the new ministry.

"One of the trying points on which they will come before the country at a future period, but not now, was that of protection to British industry." (Hear, hear, and a cry of "You will never get it!") "The most rampant" of all the enemies to agriculture, Mr. Villiers, boasted that 90,000,000/- had been taken from the agricultural interest, and distributed among other classes. Then, "according to Cocker," the agricultural interest must have been injured. He thought that the fairest and most just mode of giving protection to agriculture, without injuring the mass of the community, would be by a fixed moderate duty on foreign corn. (Cheers, and cries of "No!") It was a mere clap-trap cry, that of "Why do you tax the poor man's bread?" Poor men did not live on bread only, and

* Including the University.

he wished to see the poor man's beer untaxed, which was now burdened with a duty of seventy-five per cent. On Mr. Beresford leaving the ground, and on his way to the hotel, a long pole was prominently paraded in the crowd, to which was affixed a large loaf, with the price distinctly marked, "Five-pence."

Mr. Banks, the Judge-Advocate-General, was re-elected, without opposition, on Tuesday, for the county of Dorset; and in his address to the electors, notwithstanding several taunting cries of "Free-trade!" "Cheap loaf!" and the like, he totally avoided all allusion to the future policy of the ministers, and confined his observations to eulogy of Lord Derby, jokes at the Whigs and their connexion with Mr. Coppock, the *Times*, the "late" Reform Bill, and the militia. On the same day, Mr. A. Duncombe was re-elected, without opposition, for the East Riding of Yorkshire.

Mr. J. W. Henley, President of the Board of Trade, was re-elected on Wednesday for the county of Oxford. The election took place in the County Hall. Sir H. Lamb proposed, and Mr. John Lechinere seconded, the nomination of Mr. Henley. Mr. Faulkner proposed Mr. John Towle, "an intelligent, industrious man, deserving the confidence of the electors, not a party man, but a man for the million." (Cheers.) Was protection to be revived? Did they want to go back, or to go forward? Was Mr. Henley to receive the congratulations of his friends, and to say that there was not a voice raised at his nomination in favour of free trade? (No, no!) They had lost Sir Robert Peel, who had put on an income and property-tax, which he supposed the new ministry were going to take off; they were also going to take off the malt-tax, which would enable people to get jolly drunk at a cheap rate; while the judge addressing the grand jury the other day, said that three-fourths of the crimes of the county were committed in public-houses. Mr. King seconded the nomination. Mr. Towle said they would no doubt shortly have a general election on the great question of taxing the people's food. Mr. Henley was a gentleman deserving esteem as a judicious and sober-minded man; but as a landholder he had always stood in a suspicious position with regard to this question. It was intended to bring forward Lord Norreys at the general election as a free-trader, and in conclusion he begged to withdraw from his candidature. No other candidate having been proposed, the High Sheriff declared Mr. Henley duly elected. Mr. Henley said, that since the time when those great changes in the laws, affecting the trade and commerce of the country, had taken place, they had been afflicted throughout the length and breadth of the land, (A voice, "With plenty of bread") more particularly in Ireland, with a great and grievous famine. ("Then why do you want to tax bread?") He had never advocated the corn-laws on selfish motives. He believed that the tenant-farmers and occupiers of land had suffered more by the repeal of the corn-laws than any other class of the community, but he confessed that he had expected the working people would have been more affected by it in their wages than they had been. (Cheers.) He now went at some length into the case of the farmers and labourers, referring to what his expectations had been in 1846. He said:—

"I think that you will agree with me that the price of labour very much depends upon the supply and demand in the market. If labour is in excess in the market, the employers of labour in this country, where there is a poor law, immediately use the power that gives them in pressing labour down. At the period that I am now speaking of, labour was very much more in excess in the market than it is at present. It is impossible for any man who knows what has been going on not to see that in consequence of what has happened in Ireland—something like 1,800,000 people, either by death or emigration, having passed from that country,—and also in consequence of the enormous number of people that have also left this country, there have been far fewer labourers in this country to do the work that has been required of them. Now, whether I believe that this circumstance has prevented the wages of the labourer being pressed down below their present amount or not, I rejoice for the sake of the labourer, that this has happened; but I think that it is more than what any man had a right to expect would have followed the repeal of the corn-laws."

With respect to the future, it was quite clear that this greatly agitated question must be settled at the next general election. (Hear, hear.) Our opinions, individually and collectively, must in this free nation bow to the majority. If the minority find their opinions overweighed by a majority, it is not only their duty but their interest to give way. (Hear, hear.) "I have expressed this so often, that I hardly feel it necessary to express it again."

The first battle for the Derby ministry fought on Irish ground was decided on Monday in favour of the Government. After a keen contest for the minute constituency of the borough of Enniskillen, of whom a hundred and fifty-three came to the poll, Mr. Whitside, the Solicitor-General, was declared the winner by

a majority of nine. Colonel Dunne, the Clerk of the Ordnance, was re-elected on the same day for Portarlington.

The Government is still in some apprehension with regard to Lord Naas's return for Kildare; but their friends are confident of his obtaining a "respectable majority."

Mr. Napier, the Irish Attorney-General, was re-elected without opposition, on Tuesday, for the University of Dublin. The election took place in the Examination Hall, and the proceedings were frequently interrupted by unseemly vociferations emanating from that part of the Hall set apart for the students. In his speech, Mr. Napier alluded to the land question, "on the satisfactory solution of which the prosperity of Ireland in a great measure depended. At the opening of the next session of Parliament, therefore, he should be prepared to lay on the table of the House a bill which, while it secured to the landlord his just rights, would also give to the tenant fair compensation for his outlay in valuable improvements, and which measure, he trusted, would reduce to something like order and method the relations between landlord and tenant. As he had previously done, he should again support the claims of those who had lost their hard-earned money by the failure of the savings' banks." With regard to law reform, he was opposed to the cheap system, believing that it was the interest of the public to support a respectable and well-informed bar. He thought that education in all Christian countries should be scriptural, and that its extension formed a just claim on the public funds. Lord Derby intended greatly to improve the national system of education in Ireland. Mr. Napier denied that the present Government were enemies of progress, demanded a fair trial for them, and repudiated and denounced "the heartless logic of political economists."

It is announced that Captain W. Peel, R.N., son of the late Sir Robert, is to be a candidate for the representation of Westminster at the next election.

It is the intention of Alderman Sidney to present himself as a candidate for the City of London at the next election, on principles of "liberal conservatism."

Some months ago, before Mr. G. F. Young's return for Scarborough, a requisition was sent to him, signed by a majority of the electors of Cambridgeshire, under the supposition that this step would induce Mr. Townley, the Whig member, to retire at the close of the parliament. Mr. Townley has declined to do so, and being a favourite of long standing, will poll a good many of Mr. G. F. Young's requisitionists. The "county people," though liking Mr. Young's politics, look upon him as a *parvenu*. Unless one of these two gentlemen give way, the seat of one of the other two members, Lord George Manners and Mr. Yorke, will be jeopardized; but if only one of them remains in the field, these two gentlemen will also be probably re-elected.

Sir Joshua Walmsley does not intend to stand again for Bolton, having better prospects in company with Mr. Richard Gardner, at Leicester.

The liberal electors of the borough of Cambridge being much dissatisfied with Mr. W. F. Campbell's votes, have fixed upon Mr. Francis Mowatt, the present member for Falmouth, as their candidate, who has consented to stand.

Sir M. J. Cholmely, the "Whig-Protectionist" (?) member for North Lincolnshire, addressed a large body of farmers at Barton-upon-Humber, on Monday, in answer to the strictures upon his conduct made by Mr. Banks Stanhope and his canvassers. He said he was a true Protectionist and a Liberal; he should support the present ministers, and vote for the repeal of the Maynooth grant. (?)

In the event of Mr. Matthew Bell, the Tory member for South Northumberland, retiring, Mr. Beaumont, of Byewell, a free-trader, will come forward. Lord Lovaine, son of the Earl of Beverley, and nephew of the Duke of Northumberland, will oppose Sir George Grey in the Northern division of the county.

It is understood that Mr. William Ord, the veteran Whig member for Newcastle-upon-Tyne, will not offer himself again. If so, Mr. Blackett, a Liberal, of an old county family, will start in conjunction with Mr. Headlam.

It is stated that Mr. George Hudson will offer himself for re-election at Sunderland, and that Mr. Fenwick, a barrister of the Northern Circuit, who has family connexions in the town, will be a candidate in the liberal interest.

Mr. Vincent Scully, Q.C., author of *Free Trade in Land*, and other pamphlets on the Irish land question, has issued an address to the electors of the county of Cork, offering himself as a candidate. He declares that until such a system as shall "secure to the occupier a permanent interest in his holding, and eventually identify the actual occupation with the absolute owner-

ship of the soil," shall be established, he will "strenuously advocate the tenant's right to full compensation for his industry and outlay." He is for "the utter abolition of the present tithe rent-charge system in Ireland." He declares uncompromising hostility to the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill. With an "hereditary zeal" derived from his father, the well-known author of *The Statement of the Penal Laws*, he expresses his concurrence in the policy pursued by the Irish Parliamentary party, and his "deep hostility to the base and treacherous Whigs, whom the Irish brigade have at last deprived of mischievous power."

The coming election for the county of Cork may be regarded as a pitched battle between the Roman Catholic clergy and laity, and the issue is very doubtful. Mr. Vincent Scully stands under the sheltering wings of "the church," there being upon his managing committee no less than 14 priests to 9 laymen. The staff of Mr. Alexander McCarthy, on the other hand, is composed of 32 lay and but 4 clerical electors.

Lord William Fitzgerald, uncle of the Duke of Leinster, has addressed the following letter to his bailiff, for the information of his tenantry in the county of Kildare:—

"Dublin, 20, Fitzwilliam-place, March 5.
"I never have interfered, and never will interfere with the voting of my tenantry. I hope now they will not be guided by Lord Derby and Protection, as it is called, which means no more nor less than to put on the screw for rents. Live and let live—never coercing industry—is the true protection for us all. I wish you would let this letter be seen by the tenants. It only means to put them on their guard at the moment of a coming election for the county of Kildare."

"I remain, &c.,
WILLIAM FITZGERALD.

"To the Bailiff of the Manor of Graney."

Lord Duncan, the present representative of Bath, has been induced to go down to Bury by an influential deputation, and has put forth an address. He refers to his conduct in the House for fifteen years as proof of his consistency as an unflinching advocate of free trade. He is for the extension of the suffrage, the ballot, the shortening of Parliaments, a system of general education which does not interfere with the rights of conscience, and is a Financial Reformer. It is said that Lord Goderich will also be a candidate for Bury at the next election.

Mr. James Caird, the author of a work on *High Farming under Liberal Covenants*, and lately Agricultural Commissioner to the *Times*, has declared his intention of standing for the Wigtown boroughs at the next election, in opposition to the sitting member, Sir J. McTaggart.

LETTERS FROM PARIS.

[FROM OUR OWN CORRESPONDENT.]

LETTER XI.

THE result of the elections has been just what I had led you to expect. The majority of December 20 was to be *recollécted*, by all, and any means. The Government candidates have been returned with a success that only wavered in about sixteen circumscriptions.

Five deputies of the Opposition are elected, one Republican (General Cavaignac), and four Legitimists: MM. de Kerdrel at Fougeres, de Civrac at Beaupréau, Bouhier de l'Ecluse at Sables d'Olonne, and another whose name escapes me, somewhere else. In nine circumscriptions, the election was null: viz., Brest, Nantes, Dinan, Rennes, Château Gontier, Lyons, Lille, Arras, and the 4th arrondissement of Paris.

Now, as to how these results were obtained. First, at Paris: not to speak of the administrative obstructions to proclaiming candidates, and placarding and distributing their addresses, the grossest electoral frauds have come to light. The proportion of *bulletins* deposited in favour of General Cavaignac was as 3 to 1. The whole arrondissement declare they voted for him. In the official *dépouillement*, he had barely 1000 majority. On the Monday, electors in the different districts were summoned by domiciliary injunctions to vote: so excessive was the zeal of the administration in some instances, that fresh electoral tickets were sent to persons "of good report" who had already voted once; the fact is authenticated to me in the 2nd arrondissement of Paris.

In the fifth circumscription, where the Government candidate, M. Perrot, was opposed by M. Gondchaux, the Republican banker, the election was, in the first instance, found to be null for want of a sufficient number of votes. On the Tuesday morning, it was so reported throughout Paris, and by electric telegraph in Belgium, and I suppose, in England. Indeed, on this information I had written to you that the elections in the 4th and 5th arrondissements were cancelled. On Tuesday evening, the Government announced that a new reckoning of the white tickets had been taken, and that according to this new reckoning, M. Perrot having obtained the required number of votes, was

officially declared to be duly elected. A colourable story, malicious people say, this of the white votes—and, at all events, a very black looking business.

The juggling of the votes given in favour of General Cavaignac has led many to suppose that the officials who are charged by Louis Bonaparte's electoral law with the seals of the balloting urns, have taken advantage of their office to effect a clandestine modification of the votes in favour of Government. This supposition would explain the votes of the 20th of December and of the 29th of January.

But this is not all. I will cite another fact or two to give you an idea of the electoral manœuvres by which the free and sincere expression of the popular voice, so emphatically and ostentatiously recommended in the circulars of the Minister of the Interior, has been ascertained. In a great number of localities, the *bulletins* of independent candidates were seized, and their distributors arrested. At Chartres, for instance, *bulletins*, in the name of Monsieur le Marquis de Gouyon Saint-Cyr, were stopped at the post, and bearers of the same imprisoned as disturbers of the peace. Notwithstanding all these preventive obstacles, the son of the celebrated Marshal had nearly two-thirds of the votes; unfortunately, his *bulletins* were debarred access to the rural districts. In the Puy de Dôme, M. Combarel de Leyval, ex-deputy and ex-representative of the people, a man of order, and a wealthy landowner, happened to be the candidate of a certain number of electors, who had remained faithful to him for sixteen years. He found it impossible to get a circular printed, or even a few voting tickets. Two out of four of his friends who were distributing his *bulletins*, were arrested, and thrown into prison.

The prefects resorted to acts of even more glaring violence. At Avignon, about 150 electors are in prison. For some hours, certain number of mayors were incarcerated. A host of citizens were personally threatened. M. Henou, the Socialist candidate, was elected at Lyons; his nomination was officially announced. After a public reckoning of the votes, the Government declared his election null. At Brest and at Nantes, the same method of getting rid of the opposition was enforced.

Perhaps you are not aware that the elections of the 29th February were undertaken by M. Ronieu, ex-prefect of the Dordogne, celebrated for the boisterous excesses of his youth and for his metropolitan orgies. It was he who, under the *Ægis* of M. Persigny, conducted the whole electoral movement. M. Persigny was giving magnificent instructions to the prefects, in which he ostensibly enjoined the utmost freedom to all candidates at the very time when M. Ronieu was summoning the prefects to Paris and giving them those secret orders which they have faithfully executed.

At Paris, the number of votes obtained by the Government candidates is 134,487; that of the Opposition, 106,125, including 18,317 votes cancelled. The difference in favour of Government is only 28,362. On the 20th of December, the difference was 100,588. Subtract from this amount 28,362 votes disallowed.

The number of abstentions is no less significant. The electors inscribed at Paris were 338,843; the number of voters was on this occasion, 246,073: making 92,770 abstentions. In the provinces the abstentions were equally striking. In the Ariège, there were 62,000 voters on the 20th December; there are 32,000 on the 29th February. At Rouen, one-half abstained. At Rennes, where last December the election was almost unanimous, there are now 6895 abstentions out of 11,374 voters; there were but 4479 votes, and the Government candidate only polled 2337. If the non-voters be reckoned as belonging to the Opposition, it may be said that half of France is adverse to the present state of things. Besides, it must not be forgotten that a good number of the new deputies, although labelled with the title of Government candidates, are, nevertheless, members of the old parliamentary majority, who having an old score to settle, are naturally classed amongst the enemies of the Government. It is then nearly certain that even in the heart of the legislative body there is forming an opposition which will speedily become serious. Many of the representatives recently elected are now in Paris, and they have entreated of General Cavaignac not to send in his resignation, desiring, as they say, to form an Opposition. Under the shelter of her name, the guests of the Princess of Wagram, at a ball on Thursday, in estimating the composition of the new Assembly, were unanimous in their opinion that there would be a focus of 80 or 90 members (out of 230), who would assume in the Assembly the character of sincere representatives of the people, and who would not be content silently to sanction the edicts brought before them.

The clergy have everywhere voted and caused to vote in favour of the Government candidates. The proof of this is in a letter from the Bishop of Marseilles,

addressed to the *Courrier* newspaper of that city, where he says that, being consulted by several of his clergy on the line of conduct which it was proper for them to observe at the coming elections, he did not hesitate to advise them to vote in favour of the Government candidates. This preference of the Church explains itself in the continual concessions made to it by the government of L. Bonaparte. Such, for instance, is the suppression of the University.

I pointed out to you in my last letter, and three days before all the Paris journals, what were the principal features of the future law on instruction, now expected daily. I omitted, however, to remark one which denotes an immense concession to the clergy. All the ecclesiastics and the members of religious congregations (read Jesuits) will have the right to establish a school or college without any previous authorization, and especially without any *surveillance* of the State. Plain citizens, on the contrary, will be subjected to that authorization and that *surveillance*. This disposition, if Bonaparte lasted, would render the clergy a formidable instrument, in giving to it the absolute direction of the education of our future generation. It is not, then, surprising that the clergy should repay in votes for Bonaparte its tribute of gratitude.

The Legislative body is summoned for the 29th March. It was at first said that M. de Morny would be the president. Some days before the elections, Bonaparte had sent to the *Moniteur* the decree which called M. de Morny to that high dignity. But on an observation of the writers of the *Moniteur*, that the new Constitution required that the president of the Assembly should be chosen by the elected deputies, L. Bonaparte caused the decree to be withdrawn. That this supreme legislator should have already forgotten the articles of his own Constitution was thought very amusing in Paris. As soon as the result of the elections was known, L. Bonaparte wished to name M. de Morny. His pretended uncle, Jerome Bonaparte, would thus have been president of the Senate, and his uterine brother president of the Legislative Assembly; but old Jerome opposed himself this time to the nomination. The Constitution confers on the president of the Senate the right to provide a successor for the chief of the State in case of the decease of the latter.

In the anticipation of this eventuality, which is not by any means a pleasant subject of thought to Louis Bonaparte, old Jerome of course wished to be "master of the situation," and desired to have no serious obstacle to prevent the exercise of this right. But he was well aware that if M. de Morny were president of the *Corps Legislatif*, he could interfere most materially with his views; and he also knew that De Morny, on Louis Bonaparte's death, would use his influence in favour of the Comte de Paris, or even the Comte de Chambord, rather than for any member of the Bonaparte family. He therefore made use of the famous argument with the President of which we have already spoken, the threat of exposing the family secrets, and especially Louis Napoleon's extra-Bonapartist origin. This argument had its usual effect on Louis Bonaparte. He yielded in this case, as he had on that of old Jerome's salary, and it was settled that De Morny was not to be president of the *Corps Legislatif*. In the *Moniteur* of this morning (Tuesday), M. Billaut is appointed. These preparations for the event of Louis Bonaparte's sudden death are not founded on a purely gratuitous hypothesis. He is seriously ill. The most contradictory rumours have been spread as to the nature of his disease. Some said he was afflicted with a *maladie de langueur*; others have asserted that his illness is occasioned by a disease of the spinal marrow, produced by debauchery.

This last version is the best accredited. His familiars acknowledge that he has acute rheumatism in the left leg, with severe pain in the loins, symptoms which would exactly correspond with those of disease of the spine. Whatever it may be, Louis Bonaparte certainly suffers severely; he has lately risen at five o'clock in the evening, received the ministers until seven o'clock, and, except during those two hours, seen no one but his physician, Dr. Conneau.

There is still much talk of the fusion of the two branches, but nothing more has transpired regarding the negotiation at Frohsdorf. A decided increase of favour, however, has been shown to this solution by the higher ranks of society. The *coterie* at the Elysée are furious at this, and accounts reach us from every part of the country of a revival of rigorous measures against both Orleanists and Legitimists. The rage of the Elysée against the latter party is such, that in the south, the Government has not hesitated to turn out Legitimist mayors, and to replace them by Republicans. This would be hardly credible if we did not know that the strangest things are sometimes done in the blindness of passion. On the other hand, the Government is playing a deep game against the Orleans family.

The Duc de Bourbon, in his will in favour of the Duc d'Aumale, had inserted a clause which granted an annual sum of a hundred thousand francs (4000£) to the descendants of the Vendéans, who were killed in the civil war. Louis Philippe, under the pretext that this legacy was "anti-national," but really in order to appropriate it himself, had managed to get it annulled. And now the Bonapartists have exhumed this old business; they have induced some aged Vendéans to come forward, and to demand the arrears of this annual grant. M. Boisviel, a Legitimist advocate, is engaged to support their claim against the Duc d'Aumale's estate. By raking up this business, the Bonapartists especially wished to cause dissensions between the Legitimists and the Orleanists, as the former party might be expected to defend, and the latter to oppose the claim. But events have now rendered the union of the two parties so imperatively necessary, that the Bonapartists will, in all probability, find all their *genuinity* wasted. The Elysée fears nothing so much as this union, and, therefore, does everything in its power to prevent it. M. de Persigny lately gave vent to his Bonapartist zeal, in a drawing-room, in the following language. A general officer, distinguished for his faithful services to the elder branch of the Bourbons, objected in very moderate terms to the decree of the 22nd of January, and expressed his astonishment at seeing all the fear and all the mistrust of the Elysée exclusively turned in the direction of the Orleans family. "Eh, mon Dieu! General," said De Persigny, vehemently, "we are not disposed to spare the Legitimists any more than the Orleanists, and we suspect Frohsdorf just as much as Clarendon. If at this moment we strike at the house of Orleans—and, in my opinion, on just grounds—it is because they could by themselves re-establish the monarchy in France; but the Legitimists, reduced to their own resources, could give us no cause for fear, although, if they were united to the Orleanists, they might make a serious fight against us on a good opportunity. We strike the first blow against the princes of the Orleans family, and we are well assured that by the same blow we shall do the greatest damage to the Comte de Chambord and the Legitimists." In short, the plan of the Elysée is to separate the Orleanists and the Legitimists, and to conquer them in detail.

M. Bocher, who was accused of having hawked about Orleanist pamphlets, was tried last week, and only condemned to a fine of five hundred francs. The Elysée was enraged at this, for such a sentence amounted to an acquittal. The Government has appealed against it.

A new decree, which has appeared this week, confirms the condemnations pronounced by the Departmental Commissions.

One measure has been received more favourably; the Bank of France has reduced its rate of interest from four to three per cent. The Bank, however, did not effect this reduction voluntarily; it simply obeyed an injunction from the Government. The President had only one object in making this order,—he wished to influence the elections, and especially those in Paris. This measure was, in fact, a mere electoral *réclame*.

As for the *octroi* duties, the future suppression of which was announced by the Bonapartist organs before the 2nd of December, the Government appears to have suddenly found out that it is not possible to do without them at present. A mere shadow of reform has been paraded when it was necessary to give an appearance of satisfaction to the working classes on this point. The duty of ten per cent. which the State raised from the *octrois* of all the cities of France, has alone been suppressed, and by this boon the tax on certain articles of food will be slightly reduced.

Coercive measures continue in force all over France. The popular poet, Lachambeaudie, is still on board the *Duguesclin*, in which he is to be transported to Cayenne. The transports to Algeria have commenced. Many shiploads of prisoners have sailed from Cetee and Marseilles for that colony. And still arrests continue to be made. Thirty persons have been arrested this week in the single town of Condom (Gers), and the neighbourhood. The number of political prisoners in this little town amounts to more than a hundred.

A terrible disaster has occurred in Algeria. A column commanded by General Bousquet was exposed for a day and a night to a snow-storm. More than three hundred men died from the cold, and were buried in the snow.

The political world is still much occupied in Switzerland. The diplomacy of Europe is divided on the subject. Austria will consent to an armed intervention by Louis Bonaparte, on condition that she is permitted to co-operate on the Italian frontier. Russia consents only to pacific intervention, and M. de Nesselrode has written to this effect to the Russian diplo-

of the Due granted in (4000) to be killed in extent that in order to it unrolled. His old buildings to come his annual is engaged d'Annal's counterparts between the former party to oppose the union, that the *Élysée* so much in it's gave vent in, in distinguished for the Bourgeoisie the degrees of astonishment of the *Élysée* and Paris is to spare, and, and, that they rarely in their own though, it makes a reason. We the Orleans same blow Comte de the place and the

There was a report in Paris that the ambassador of France at London, M. Walewski, had been recalled on this very question. The *Élysée* party still assert that the Federal Council of Switzerland has succumbed to the menaces of France, and that a note in the *Moniteur* will soon announce that the President of the Helvetic Confederation has given "reasonable satisfaction" to the claims of the French Government. The *Moniteur*, however, has remained mute on the subject up to this day; and in the meantime preparations are being made in France for war. Government have called for large supplies of copper and iron for immediate use in the canon foundries, with the view of augmenting the force of artillery; and Paris is placarded with advertisements for tenders.

S.

LOUIS BLANC ON FRENCH SOCIALISM.

(To the Editor of the Leader.)

LETTER IV.

THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS DO NOT IN ANY SENSE OR DEGREE DESIRE THE ABOLITION OF PROPERTY.

The French Socialists, on the contrary, regard Property as a right inherent in human nature. Man, indeed, can only support life by appropriating to himself exterior objects. But it is precisely because Property is a right that the French Socialists object to its being degraded into a *privilege*. It is precisely because the right of property is inherent in human nature that, according to the French Socialists, all who pertain to human nature, ought to be invited to enjoy the advantages of the right. Yes; the right of property is a natural right, but, for that express reason, its enjoyment should be rendered accessible to all. And how? First of all, by inscribing at the head of the Code that the true principle of property is LABOUR; next, by founding social institutions which may tend to promote more and more the use of the MATERIALS OF LABOUR.

To those who would encourage them to labour, in the hope of becoming possessors, how many poor creatures might, with good reason, reply:

You call out to us to work! But we have neither ground to till, nor wood to build, nor iron to forge, nor wool, nor silk, nor cotton, to make clothes withal. Nay, are we not forbidden to pluck that fruit, to drink of that fountain, to hunt those animals, to take shelter under that tree? We stand in need of the materials of life itself, as of labour; because at our birth we found all around us invaded; because laws, made without us and before us, have given over to a blind and cruel chance the charge of our destiny; because, in virtue of those laws, the means of LABOUR, which the earth seemed to have yielded for the use of all her children, are become the exclusive property of a few. Theirs it is to dispose of us; for we have no means of disposing of ourselves. Work! We are ready: but do you think that it depends upon our own will? "Work!" and then shall be assured of having the fruit of thy labour." Alas! how can you assure us the fruit of our labour, when in the midst of the immense disorder, and of the tragic incidents of universal competition, you cannot even warrant us the employment of our hands? "Work!" the produce of thy labour shall be for thee and for thy children— you deceive yourselves, you deceive us. No! the produce of our work will be neither for us nor for our children. For our destitution places us at the mercy of others; and what is offered to us in exchange for our toiling activity is not the produce we create; it is but a salary just enough to prevent our perishing in the act of producing—a salary which the stress of competition ever tends to grind down to the lowest level of the strictest necessities of life, and which rarely leaves a margin for thrift; and which, meagre as it is, is ever at the mercy of the first day of stoppage in the work, or of sickness in the worker. It is not, then, the prospect of happiness that stimulates us: our only stimulant is—"starvation!"

Under existing social institutions, such is the complaint, the legitimate complaint, that thousands of men may breathe, albeit created after the image of God, and members of the great human family! And

how deny it, when we see that at Paris, for instance, the numerous class of journeymen gain no more than two francs 50 cents. a day; that at Rouen, the weavers receive per week, for twelve hours' work a day, only three or four francs; that at Limoges, the improved machinery for spinning has brought down the wages to one franc 25 cents.; that at Cholet, the calico weavers, who used in 1846 to be paid one franc six cents for a day's work of twelve hours, have, since 1848, earned only 85 cents! I might continue to the end this gloomy catalogue; but those who would be convinced of the generality of the results which I denounce, have only to consult the statistical table I drew up, in my treatise on the *Organization of Labour*. There they will find the industrial situation of France regularly summed up in figures, and in figures which have not been denied, and which it was impossible to deny—they were official. There they will learn that wretched young girls receive, for eighteen hours' incessant labour, from 30 to 60 cents., a pittance they are driven to eke out by prostitution.

Do such social institutions as these, I ask, respect the right of property—the right of property, I mean, based on labour; when in their very core this awful misery grows, robbing so many wretched beings even of the free disposal of their own existence, and driving them to sell soul and body for a morsel of bread? To denounce the vice of these institutions, and to demand its reparation, with the emancipation of labour as an end and aim, is not to attack property; it is, on the contrary, to invoke its principle, and to defend it in its highest acceptation, in its most sacred signification. For, after all, is it, or is it not true, that all men as they are born into life, bring with them a right to live? Is it, or is it not true that, if some few succeed in taking hereditary possession of all the MATERIALS OF LABOUR, in monopolizing the means of labour, all the rest will be condemned from that very cause, either to be the slaves of the few, or to die?

Now, is it just, that when all have brought with them into life an equal right to live, the power of realizing that right should be concentrated in the hands of a few, so that humanity finds itself divided into two classes of beings, of which the one sells the life the other is reduced to buy? That is the question.

I will subsequently examine the means which the French Socialists propose for its solution—without shock, without violence, and with a due regard for all interests; I may be content to have proved here that by directing their efforts to this grand solution, the French Socialists deserve to be considered the true logicians, the philosophic expounders, *par excellence*, of the right of property.

I pass to another point in the address of M. Mazzini, and I say—

THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS HAVE NO INTENTION TO VIOLATE THE PRINCIPLE OF LIBERTY BY OBTRUDING ABRUPTLY AND BY FORCE A COMPLETELY NEW SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

In the proclamation which I have recently cited, and which was placarded on every wall in Paris during the Revolution of February, by one of those whom M. Mazzini calls "system makers and sectarians," the reader has certainly remarked a passage: "Let us abstain from demanding the immediate application of our doctrines. It is only to free discussion, to conviction, to the power of public opinion, to individual consent, that we desire to be indebted for their triumph."

In another quarter, observe the language which, at the same moment, the two members of the Provisional Government, who specially represented Socialism, were addressing to the people.

"CITIZEN WORKMEN.—The Commission appointed by the Government to prepare the solution of the great problems in which you are interested, is studying with indefatigable ardour to fulfil its task.

"But, however legitimate may be your impatience, the commission conjures you not to allow your exigencies to outstrip its researches. All the questions relating to the organization of labour are of their nature, complex. They embrace a number of interests opposed to one another, if not in reality, at least in appearance. They require, then, to be approached with calmness, and examined with maturity. Too great impatience on your side, too great precipitation on ours, would only end in injury to both. The National Assembly is about to be immediately convoked. We shall present to its deliberations the drafts of laws we are now working out, with the firm resolution to ameliorate your condition, morally and materially; and on these our schemes, your own delegates are to be summoned to express their opinions. Now this National

Assembly will be no longer a chamber of monopolists, it will be, thanks to universal suffrage, a living *résumé* of our entire society. Be of good courage, then, and bravely hope; but, in your own interest, do not ob-

struct the action of men who are resolved to make the cause of justice triumph, or to die in its service.

"The President and Vice-President of the Government Commission for the Working-men."

Thus we see that, to cast a glance, at once bold and prudent, at the questions which concern the future of humanity, to expose frankly the results discovered or partially detected, to accept discussion for a weapon and public opinion for judge—to call upon that public opinion to pronounce itself pacifically and sovereignly by universal suffrage—such was the constant and invariable endeavour of the French Socialists; neither more nor less.

As to attributing to them the pretension to change society in a day by the application of a new system of social organization, sprung full-grown from the head of this or the other thinker, as Minerva sprang armed from the brain of Jupiter—this is a purely gratuitous assumption, which the writings of the French Socialists most signaliy belie.

In what, indeed, do these *systems*, to which M. Mazzini makes allusion, consist? They consist in a series of *purely transitory* measures, adapted to the present state of things, and of a nature to admit of immediate application. The Socialists know very well that, in this slow and painful journey of the people towards a reign of absolute justice, there are many stages to pass through, and that, if history always reasons justly in the end, it sometimes takes centuries to advance a step towards a just conclusion. The Socialists are the first to acknowledge that it is wise: that it is even indispensable to proceed by successive ameliorations. Only they believe, that these successive ameliorations must proceed from an unity of system, and follow a well-defined principle.

Surely he is a madman who thinks to reach the end of his journey by destroying the road; but not less mad is he who starts, not knowing whither he goes. When a mechanician is about to construct a machine, he surely does not think of striking it off in an instant; but he first designs his plan. When a poet composes a drama, he puts one act after another, certainly; but not without first having traced the general framework of his plot. The earnest pioneers of social progress can have no other method of proceeding. The Socialists adopt it.

For who but a madman would dream of transporting into the pure regions of the ideal, such as lofty intellects imagine, and righteous hearts conceive, a society ignorant and corrupt as ours! No, no; Socialism has not that chimerical pretension; and many who bring the accusation know it to be false. If they treat us as Utopians, it is just because they begin to feel the possibility of our doctrines. They would not call us Utopians with so much terror and noise, if they were not oppressed by the reality of what they combat. And why, indeed, this excess of hate?—why these bursts of rage?—why these signals of alarm?—why this deluge of calumnies?—why this train of persecutions? Men are not incensed by ideas which they regard as vain shadows; and to stab again and again living bodies which are declared to be phantoms, is an inconsistency which would be pitiable, if it were not revolting.

LOUIS BLANC.

(To be continued.)

CHURCH MATTERS.

THE monthly report presented on Tuesday to the meeting of the London Church Union at St. Martin's Hall, maintains that high character which has hitherto distinguished them from ordinary ecclesiastical documents. The Committee is not seduced by the advent of the Tories, professed friends of the Church as they are professed friends of the farmers, to office, from that line of policy which restricts their agitation within the limits of what is necessary for the welfare of the Church from their point of view. They deprecate all dependence on political combinations; they urge churchmen, as such, to abstain from political warfare. The Church, they say, is entitled to demand fair play from those in authority of whatever political party, but they assert that it "cannot wear the livery or receive the wages of any." At the same time they cannot refrain, of course, from commenting on that passage in Lord Derby's speech which referred to the Church.

"It is not without considerable hesitation that the Committee would venture to suggest that the prominent idea which Lord Derby entertained, in promising support to the Church, was the desire to maintain the Establishment in its external rights and property, and your Committee cannot doubt in attributing to his lordship the intention to advise the Crown to make a better use of its patronage than of late."

And as that is "below" their wishes, they suggest in extenuation that the duties of a prime minister relate rather to the external framework of the Church, considered as a society of this world, than to her internal

organization as a divine institution, and that the same feeling which should prompt them to refuse dictation from the officers of State in sacred things, should lead them to forbear from "expecting advantages;" a very sound maxim.

"The more clearly we recognise the great principle that it is the duty of the State to sanction and empower by law, but not to originate spiritual reforms, and that it is our duty as Churchmen, with a due regard to the mutual subordination of our different orders, to set these reforms in motion, the more disposed shall we be to rest satisfied with such dispositions as we have attributed to the Government, and to acknowledge the wisdom of confining them to narrow limits. It will be the duty of Churchmen in due time, and in no unfriendly way, to press on the minister the reforms we desire, and if they receive from him that attention, which is due to their substance, and to the general feeling of Churchmen in pressing them, we shall have no ground for complaint. And while on this topic, it may not be amiss to draw attention to the remarkable words Lord Derby used respecting the interests of the Church beyond the limits of this country, words which can hardly import the creation of a church establishment where the feelings of the community would be averse to it, and which, therefore, probably point to such measures for the colonies as we have already requested—measures of religious freedom and wholesome self-organization;—and the Committee need not remind you that what is now created in the colonies must infallibly before long leave this country also. They think, therefore, that there is every encouragement to the plain duty of laying down a statement of Church grievances, and calling for redress."

They adhere to the principle laid down in the report of December 9, that their sole demand from the State ought to be freedom for the Church; a policy which is highly commendable, and which they propose to fully carry out, by doing their utmost to hinder the presentation of any bills to parliament which like the Bishop of London's Church Discipline Bill, would attempt to remedy internal grievances.

"Your Committee consider that we cannot, without the grossest and most deplorable inconsistency, depart from this course, whatever temptation there may be to do so. With regard, therefore, to the greater and more important class of Church grievances, they hold that not merely no attempt should be made to redress them by the sole action of parliament, but that any attempt made with the best intentions, and by the most favourably disposed Government, to redress them in this way, ought to meet with the most decided, though calm and temperate, opposition of Churchmen. All such attempts should elicit but one reply—*give us our Synods, and we will do it ourselves.*"

They strenuously oppose the notorious "Manchester and Salford Education Bill," as adverse to the interests of the Church, a topic which affords matter for the following comment:—

"These grievances, discouragements, and dangers, we must, as it has been already said, endure for the present with patience, but not with acquiescence, until such time as bishops, priests, and laity can by common consent devise remedies. The time is, we hope, gone by when these things can be settled by the bishops alone; by parliament, which is no longer limited to Churchmen; by religious societies, acting without authority from the Church in her proper work; still less by individual bishops or clergy, men, or by the rash and uncontrollable will of the people."

Specifying certain minor grievances, the report sums up in words of great import, to which we call attention.

"Were such demands as these yielded to us, we should no longer fear that the Catechism was to be set aside in order to make way for a general and anti-dogmatic (so-called) religious education. And one happy result of the removal of suspicions will be, that Churchmen will no longer be tempted to deny the just duties of the State as to education. It has a great civil duty to perform in looking after education. Happily the close connexion of religion with education is now, in this country, acknowledged on all sides. That connexion must guide, but cannot abolish, the duties of the State. We have to remember that what is conceded to us must be granted to Dissenters also. The Church is entitled to educate its own children in its own doctrine and discipline, and we must avoid the appearance of making a territorial claim to a monopoly of education for the Church, which neither the spirit of the times nor those principles of religious toleration which have become a recognised part of the constitution, will endure.

"If we act in this spirit we shall not, we may justly hope, find the State a taskmaster or a tyrant. And, even if a policy antagonistic to the rights of the Church were adopted, it could not be permanent in a free country like this, unless popular prejudice were provoked and kept alive by injudicious pretensions. And since religious questions seem destined to occupy a large share of the attention of the civilized world for many years to come, it is by all means incumbent on us to devote ourselves to them in such a spirit as to avoid stirring up these prejudices, 'no man having any evil thing to say of us.'

We observe one omission in this report—there is nothing said upon Mr. Gladstone's Bill on the colonial church.

LORD CAMPBELL AND THE ROMAN CATHOLIC HIGH SHERIFF.

MR. SCOTT MURRAY, the High Sheriff of Buckinghamshire, in a letter to the daily papers on Tuesday, was calmly, respectfully, and with an acknowledgment of Lord Campbell's personal courtesy, called in question

the justice and propriety of the reprimand administered to him at Aylesbury, for having publicly appeared in his capacity of high sheriff, and accompanied the judges, attended by a Roman Catholic chaplain. Mr. Murray observes that he could not decline the office of high sheriff, and that being a Roman Catholic, and supposing "that the chaplain appointed by the sheriff is the chaplain of the sheriff," he appointed a Roman Catholic chaplain. Mr. Justice Crompton was repeatedly in contact with the chaplain before the chief-justice arrived, and expressed no objection. He then reminds Lord Campbell of the circumstances under which he accompanied him from the railway station to the court, to the protestant church, and finally to the judge's lodging, and that the chaplain was not dressed in the garb of any religious order, but in the "usual full dress worn by the Roman Catholic clergy on occasions unconnected with religious ceremonial." He then observes, that after Lord Campbell's rebuke in private, he was not prepared for the repetition of it in open court, which led the grand jury to suppose that he had been guilty of "a violent and wilful innovation." He then respectfully, but firmly, and with an appearance of logical correctness, denies and combats the two positions on which the chief-justice based his reprimand. "1. That the chaplain appointed by the sheriff becomes the chaplain of the judges. 2. That the Protestant religion, by which was plainly meant the religion of the Established Church, is the religion of the judges of the country." One of the duties of the sheriff is that of attendance on the judges of assize, a very important duty, but by no means the most important. The sheriff, "as a portion of the proper state appertaining to his position," appoints a clergyman as his personal chaplain. "I never heard him called, except by your lordship, the chaplain of the judges, or the chaplain of any one but the sheriff." The appointment of a chaplain is not even obligatory on the sheriff, which it surely would be if the judges had any interest in the matter. He regards this claim as a direct encroachment on the privileges of the office of sheriff, which is the less warrantable, because the law expressly recognises the existence of the judges' chaplains as a totally distinct class from those of the sheriffs'. By 21st Henry VIII. the chaplain of the chief justice of the Queen's Bench was specially privileged, and by other acts various advantages were extended to all judges' chaplains.

"It is thus plainly in the power of the judges above mentioned to take with them, on their circuits, chaplains of their own, and if for any cause they have thought fit to discontinue their appointment, this can hardly afford a reasonable pretext for endeavouring to appropriate the chaplains of other and independent officers of the crown."

Lord Campbell's second proposition is that the state religion is the religion of the Judges of England. The laws of England say that Roman Catholics and Protestant dissenters of all classes may be judges.

"How are these conflicting propositions to be reconciled? How is it that men who honestly dissent from the church of England can be lawfully invited to the bench, and yet, when on the bench, be required to conform to that church? Are there two consciences for judges—one to be saved or lost by, and another to go circuit with? or, if this be not so, by what subtle contrivance of law is it that the same conscience is to be at once relieved and oppressed, declared to be free—ay, and great credit taken for the declaration—and at the same time made subject to a dominant establishment?"

Mr. Scott Murray contends that he has followed the precedents of other Roman Catholic sheriffs, and adds in a postscript the following list of cases:—

"In 1837, James Wheble, Esq., a Roman Catholic, was high sheriff of Berkshire, and attended the judges at assizes, accompanied by his Roman Catholic chaplain, the Rev. J. Ringrose. Judges—Spring: The Right Hon. Sir James Parke, Sir W. Bolland; Autumn: Lord Abinger, Mr. Justice Coleridge. In the same year, G. T. Whitgreave, a Roman Catholic, was high sheriff of Staffordshire, and attended the same judges, accompanied by the Rev. Edw. Huddicote, his Roman Catholic chaplain. In 1839, Charles Tempest, Esq., (now Sir Charles Tempest,) a Roman Catholic, was high sheriff of Yorkshire, and attended the judges, accompanied by a Roman Catholic clergyman. Judges—Spring: The Right Hon. Sir James Parke; Mr. Baron Alderson. Autumn: Mr. Justice Coltman; Mr. Justice Maule. During the current year Richard Swift, Esq., a Roman Catholic, is one of the joint sheriffs of London. He has attended the judges, as well as the Recorder and the Common Serjeant, accompanied by his Roman Catholic chaplain.

PROGRESS OF ASSOCIATION.

THE MASTERS' STRIKE.

A SPECIAL meeting of the Executive Council of the Amalgamated Society was held at their office, 25, Little Alie-street, Whitechapel, in consequence of mis-statements that had been made regarding the number of engineers who had signed the masters' declaration. The attention of the council was also called to an address, issued by them to their members on the 2nd ult., having appeared in the *Times* of Saturday last, and

represented as being a "new declaration," with the inference that it was a partial abandonment of their position. To prevent any misconception, the council agreed at once to issue an address to the members, which had already been partially determined upon. The council profess in this address to feel no misgiving as to the result of the struggle being definitively in their favour. They explain that all the factores did not close on the 10th of January, and that the engineers who have always continued employed, together with the skilled workmen not belonging to the society, would give about the number returned as "at work" without any others having signed the declaration. The number of artisans, whether members or not of the society, who have signed is very insignificant.

An aggregate meeting of the brass trades took place at the National Hall, High Holborn, on Wednesday, to consider the claims of the operative engineers, and take steps for their support.—Mr. W. Allan occupied the chair.—No man, he said, ought to be compelled to work more than six days in the week. He, however, knew an engineer who had in one week worked 100 hours; he also worked twenty-four Sundays in succession, and because he asserted his right as a man and refused to work on the twenty-fifth, he was discharged. The engineers deserved the support of the brass trades in endeavouring to abolish overtime.—Mr. J. Barry, member of the Amalgamated Society, explained to the meeting the nature of the dispute from which the strike had arisen, as it has been repeatedly explained in our columns. Several operatives connected with the brass trades afterwards addressed the meeting, and the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—"1. That in the opinion of this meeting the closing of the shops by the master engineers was an act of gross injustice, inasmuch as they have thereby thrown out of employ large numbers of men; not only those connected with the Amalgamated Society, but also those who were in no way connected with the dispute in question; and this meeting is also convinced that the question upon which the employers and the operative engineers are at variance has a bearing upon the future rights of all workmen, and as the result of the present contest must materially affect our relative positions, we therefore pledge ourselves to assist the operative engineers by contributions and our influence while the struggle continues.—2. That this meeting expresses its sympathy with the operatives who have been thrown out of employ by the employers' strike; and is of opinion that their noble, peaceful, and dignified resistance to the unjust demands of the employers, demands the admiration and support of the whole working population of our country."—A committee was appointed to carry out the resolutions, and the meeting separated.

CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE AGENCY.

Weekly Official Report, March 2nd to March 9th.

THE Agency transacted business with the following stores:—Galashiels, Leeds, Hawick, Barrhead, Bury, Braintree, Brighton, Rochdale, Ullesthorpe, Birmingham, Woolwich, Halifax, Swindon, Middlesbrough, Burnley, Bradford, Bacup, &c.

We hear from Cardiff that the Co-operative Store in course of formation there is in an advanced state of organization.

An application was received from the Co-operative Store at Norwich, to have their rules certified.

We take this opportunity of stating that all customers not sending in their purchase books for the last quarter by the 20th March, will forfeit their bonus.

The partners of the Central Co-operative Agency have resolved to send a copy of their *Weekly Reports* to the editors of the principal London papers, and to a certain number of persons likely to take an interest in its proceedings, with the following circular:—

"The partners of the Central Co-operative Agency present their compliments to Mr. _____, and beg to enclose a weekly report of the business of the establishment, either for his own perusal, or for the information of the public, if he thinks it proper.

"Such Reports have been published for some time, and they are to be continued regularly.

"The claims of the Co-operative Agency to be considered as a public institution, are, as follow:—Although a commercial firm, the Agency is conducted under the supervision of trustees; a Public Report is to be made half-yearly; the books are to be audited by a public accountant, and half the profits are carried to a common fund devoted to purposes of public benefit.

"The objects of the Agency are—1st, To remedy one of the greatest evils of the present mode of trading, by counteracting the system of adulteration now prevailing in trade, and which includes nearly every article of consumption, in food or raiment. 2nd. To promote the principle of Co-operative Association as a method of business, the word Co-operative expressing that Association, as it is understood by the partners of the Agency, implies an equitable arbitration between Labour and Capital, and a complete conciliation as possible of the conflicting interests of the present competitive system."

BETTER REGULATION OF PUBLIC-HOUSES.

An association is in existence at Manchester, the object of which is to remove some of the evils proceeding from the absence of any effectual control over beer-houses and places of amusement connected therewith. The Bishop of the diocese is the president, and Mr. Charles J. Herford the honorary secretary. Their last report is grounded on the evidence given before the Lord's committee on beerhouses, on the information placed at their disposal by the Rev. John Clay, and on the results of inquiries instituted by the association. The monster evil which is considered in the report, and which the association desires to remedy, is the demoralisation induced by the expedients adopted by keepers of beerhouses, (which are independent of the licensing power of the magistrates,) to attract custom: these are of the most varied description, "ranging from music to dancing, card-playing, and gambling of all sorts, to rat-hunting, dog-fighting, and cock-fighting, and the keeping of prostitutes." Through these attractions large numbers of young persons, even below the age of fifteen, are induced to frequent these houses, are brought into association with vicious characters, and form habits of drinking and gambling. The association seeks to remove these evils by purifying and elevating, not destroying, public amusements, by the exertion of moral influence upon their conductors, and, by application to the legislature, to place beerhouses and music-salons, by the licensing system, under the control and supervision of the local authorities. The committee of the association includes persons of all parties and of all persuasions: among them are the Bishop and the Dean of Manchester, the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, Mr. Thomas Bayley, Mr. William Entwistle, the Rev. T. G. Lee, and the Rev. William McKerrow.

SOCIETY OF "THE FRIENDS OF ITALY."

The Society of "The Friends of Italy" convened a meeting of the inhabitants of Lambeth at the British School-room, George-street, on Monday evening, "to consider the threatening aspect of foreign powers, and the position and duty of England in the present state of the continent." Mr. F. Doulton presided, and observed that hitherto foreign politics had excited little interest in England, but, owing in a great measure to the teaching of Kosuth, Mazzini, and other illustrious exiles, we were beginning to find that even in a mere selfish point of view, it was essential that on these subjects there should be an enlightened public opinion. Not only was it our duty to watch the movements of European despotism, but our security demanded it. Louis Napoleon was looking towards Belgium, and if he succeeded there, he must find something more for the army to do, for he only ruled by the pleasure of the army.

Mr. D. Masson moved—"That this meeting views with deep concern the triumph of despotic and lawless power abroad as confirmed by the suppression of French liberty by Louis Napoleon. That these advances of despoticism abroad are fraught with danger to the liberties and the interests of Great Britain; that, therefore, on grounds as well of self-defence, as of just regard for other peoples, it is incumbent on this country to have and to maintain a decided course of foreign policy; and that no set of men are fit to conduct the government of this country at the present time who have not, among other things, a bold and liberal apprehension of England's place and duty in Europe." He observed that there prevailed over the continent a system of despotic and even of lawless rule, or misrule. Some thought despotic rule, where it was mild and according to law, better than a wrangling parliament; but those persons should remember that unless speech and the press were free, there would be no real national progress in accordance with the ideas of the people. (Cheers.) If a despot, of the best intentions and the largest brain in the world, arrested free speech, he destroyed the nation's progress. This kind of government now prevailed all over the continent. In Russia they had not yet even learned to ask for free speech. The Germans, that great nation, who gave us the printing press (cheers), were groaning under despotism. Austria was a mere diplomatic fiction. Destroy the government, and there would be nothing left of Austria. Recently this Austrian tyranny had trampled out the liberties of Hungary, a great nation, and a worthy brother to England in the European family. (Cheers.) In Italy, whose people were the most intellectual race of Europe, immense foreign armies held in thrall the whole nation. (Hear, hear.) It had been said that a nation deserved not to be free unless they desired it. What stronger proof of their desire for liberty could have been afforded than was given by the inhabitants of Rome when they barricaded their city, and defended it for a month against the treacherous French—the picked soldiers of Europe? (Cheers.) In process of time the despotism of the continent would

swallow up those little states where freedom yet existed; and then England would stand alone. Already the despotism of the continent had come home to this country; witness the insolence of diplomatic intercourse on the part of some powers—an insolence which would never have been stood by Pitt even, though he was on the wrong side. (Hear, hear.) And what would our new ministry do? (Laughter.) Lord Derby, in his speech on the 27th ult., was evidently truckling to the despotic powers; he talked of the duty of informing foreign governments of any plots that might be discovered? (Hear, hear.) How were plots to be discovered? By letter-opening, or by dogging refugees with the police? Was that an English proceeding? (Hear, hear.) The great means for checking despotism was a large and liberal measure of parliamentary reform. (Cheers.) Whatever government would deal rightly with respect to the continent ought to put this country in a state of self-defence, by the organization of a citizen force, independently of the standing army.

Mr. James Stanfield seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. Shaen moved, and Mr. T. Webber seconded the resolution, "That the Society of the Friends of Italy, already existing, affords an excellent means for testifying these sentiments legally and constitutionally, and especially for expressing sympathy with the oppressed people of Italy, and that the present meeting is prepared to support this society in its operations and aims."

A vote of thanks to the chairman concluded the proceedings.

REPRODUCTIVE EMPLOYMENT OF PAUPERS.

On Tuesday evening a large and influential public meeting was held in the St. Matthew's School, Liverpool-road, Manchester, to consider the propriety of petitioning parliament in favour of such a change in the law as will enable, or if necessary, compel the guardians to substitute throughout the different Unions reproductive for non-productive employment of the destitute. The Rev. S. R. Bentley, M.A., the laborious and popular incumbent of St. Matthew's, was in the chair, and he was supported by a strong master of clergymen, aldermen, town-councillors, churchwardens, &c.

The Chairman made some appropriate observations on the moral features of the question, and introduced, with some complimentary observations,

Mr. Archibald G. Stark, Secretary to the Poor Law Association, who spoke at great length in favour of the objects of that body. By reference to parliamentary returns, it appeared that, although the Poor Law Amendment Act had been passed to reduce pauperism, and relieve property from the burden of supporting it, nevertheless, during sixteen years that followed its enactment in 1834, the sum of 80,000,000 had been levied for the support of pauperism in England and Wales alone. This made the average annual expenditure five millions, and to this would have to be added two millions more in Ireland and Scotland. This was not the only loss to the country, as to the seven millions sterling should be added at least three-and-a-half millions more for the loss of the wealth which might be created by the able-bodied in-door and out-door poor, who are now kept in idleness, doing nothing in return for the relief afforded to them. Mr. Stark strongly commented upon the fact of an enlightened country losing annually ten-and-a-half millions of money, one-fifth of its entire revenue, in this irrational manner. He referred to the practicability of the reproductive system, as illustrated by the cases of the Cork, Waterford, Thurles, and other unions, where the rates had been reduced, and thousands of persons instructed to support themselves outside of the workhouses; and to the prisons of Spain and America, where the criminals, by their labour, paid for their subsistence. He rebutted various objections that had been advanced by selfishness or ignorance, or, what was as bad, self-sufficient learning and so-called political economy, and met the well-known "bugbear" that the reproductive employment of the paupers would interfere with independent industry out of doors, by the following reasoning:—"The pauper, before he entered the workhouse, unless he chanced to have been a man of fortune, must have lived by one of three means, viz.; by industry (in which case, if there were any truth in the objection, he must have interfered with the industry of his fellows), by begging, or by robbery, which involved a still more ruinous interference with the resources and industry of the community. Quere—Does the pauper more injuriously interfere with the industry of the community by labouring to reduce the rates, and so save a certain sum to be spent in the home market, than if he assisted in diminishing the outside demand for labour, or by alms-seeking, or by fraud or force help himself to the goods of his neighbour?"

The Rev. Mr. Huntington, in moving the first resolution, made an excellent speech, in which he exposed the evils that had come under his own observation as a Christian minister, and daily visitor of the habitations of the lower classes, of the external *money* relief system, under which wives and children were reduced often to starvation, while the earnings of the rate-payers were being spent in the beer-houses by profligate fathers.

The other speakers were Alderman Pilling, Councillors Bowker, Ashmore, Brougham, &c. All the resolutions and petitions founded on them were carried unanimously, after unlimited discussion of them had been granted and exercised.

EQUALIZATION OF THE POOR-RATE.

A DEPUTATION from the various parishes in the City of London, which are suffering from the existing laws of settlement and rating for the relief of the poor, was received by Mr. Secretary Walpole on Thursday. The deputation consisted of Alderman Sir James Duke, M.P., Alderman Sidney, M.P., the High Bailiff of Southwark, Mr. R. B. Whiteside, Mr. Pilcher, Mr. Eyke, Mr. Phillips, Mr. Warwick, and 16 guardians and other officers connected with parishes in the City of London. They were introduced by Sir James Duke and Mr. Alderman Sidney addressed Mr. Walpole at some length on the subject. Mr. Walpole said, that upon so large a question they could not expect him at once to give an opinion. It was one, however, that ought to be considered at the earliest opportunity, but with what result must of course be left to the deliberation and consideration of the government. He certainly would give the very fullest consideration to the subject as soon as he could undertake it.

NATIONAL DEFENCES.

THE practice with the Minié rifle by the officers and non-commissioned officers of the Guards and the Line at Woolwich, under the command of Major Brownrigg, of the Grenadier Guards, has been very satisfactory. On Saturday last, they made good shooting at five hundred yards, and put in one ball out of five at a range of eight hundred yards; but it must be remarked that all this firing was from a fixed rifle-stand or rest. On Monday they practised "file-firing" without a rest, at two hundred yards, at a target six feet square, and a hundred and sixteen balls out of a hundred and eighty fired hit the target. A deputation from the Hanover Park Rifle corps witnessed the firing, and intend adopting the same weapon for their own use. This corps, established under government authority, in connexion with the Scottish Society, and the Surrey County Volunteer Regiment, is continuing to enrol recruits. Their club-house and practice-ground are at Hanover Park, Peckham.

A rifle club is in the course of formation in the University of Oxford, which has received the approbation of the Vice-Chancellor. A large number of members are enrolled, and the club promises to be both popular and effective.

The Metropolitan Rifle Club (455, Strand, opposite Northumberland House) is in communication with several gun-makers, who are making experiments to decide upon the best weapon. The members of the club who are unprovided with rifles are waiting for the results of these experiments.

The late Secretary of State for the Home Department issued instructions to all the lord-lieutenants to call out the Yeomanry Cavalry corps for inspection by field officer of the Queen's forces, in the course of the summer. Orders have consequently been given by the Lord-Lieutenant of Kent to the commanding officers of the East and West Kent regiments, who have ordered all the respective troops to be recruited up to their full complement, and to commence their drills, with sword exercise and ball practice, at targets, dismounted.

STEAM COMMUNICATION WITH INDIA AND AUSTRALIA.

The Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company received, on Saturday last, official intimation of the acceptance on the part of the Lords of the Admiralty of their proposals for establishing additional and greatly accelerated steam communication between this country, the Mediterranean, Egypt, India, and China, embracing, likewise, a continuation of the mail service from Singapore to various ports in Australia.

The service is arranged in five distinct lines, as follows:—First Line.—From England to Alexandria and back, monthly, calling at Gibraltar and Malta—branch from Marseilles to Malta.

Second Line.—From England to Alexandria and back, monthly, calling at Gibraltar and Malta—branch from Marseilles to Malta.

Third Line.—From Suez to Calcutta and Hongkong and back, monthly, calling at Aden and Point-de-Galle, whence a steamer is to proceed to Madras to Calcutta, and another by Penang to Singapore and Hongkong.

Fourth Line.—From Suez to Calcutta and Hongkong and back, monthly, calling at Aden and Point-de-Galle, whence a steamer is to proceed by Madras to Calcutta, and another by Penang to Singapore and Hongkong.

Fifth Line.—From Singapore to Sydney and back, every alternate month, calling both ways at Batavia, Swan River, or King George's Sound, Adelaide, and Port Phillip.

A perfect and unbroken chain of bi-monthly mail-packets, to and from Egypt, India, and China, will be established immediately the new contract shall come into operation. Besides this, the semi-monthly mail-packet service between Malta and Marseilles, at present performed by steamers belonging to the Royal navy, will be accomplished by the contractors, and the English naval packets may, in consequence, be withdrawn from that station.

MUTINY ON BOARD THE "QUEEN OF THE WEST," LIVERPOOL.

The *Queen of the West*, packet ship, cleared out of Wellington Dock, Liverpool, on Saturday afternoon, bound for New York, and lay on the Cheshire side of the river. The Captain, Mors by name, went on board, and George Freeman, one of the crew, complained that the crew was short-handed, there being only twenty-six seamen instead of thirty, which he declared to be the proper complement. At last they came to high words, and the Captain, seizing Freeman by the breast, told him to be quiet, and do his duty. Freeman struck the Captain, who was knocked down and severely handled by the crew, armed with marlin-spikes and belaying-pins. Mr. Risk, the mate, attacked the crew with a cutlass, and the Captain aimed a revolver at one of the men, which snapped, however, without exploding. He then got another cutlass, and aided by the mate, drove the crew below, after a tough encounter, in which many of them were sadly gashed. Some of the crew took part with the Captain, and the ringleaders were put in irons, while one, Downs, was flogged. The police having been informed, a posse of officers were sent on board, and the mutinous crew, twelve in number, were taken on shore to Liverpool, accompanied by Captain Mors and the mate. Most of them were slashed about the head and face in a dreadful way, one of them had his shoulder deeply cut, and one had his hand nearly cut off. Three men were taken to the hospital, the rest were sent to Birkenhead, as the affray took place on the Cheshire side of the river.

The prisoners, ten young athletic men, most of them Americans, were brought before Sir Edward Cust and a bench of magistrates, at Birkenhead, on Monday. Captain Mors, and Mr. Risk, the mate, gave their evidence, and in cross-examination by Mr. Aspinall, who appeared for the sailors, the Captain admitted that he had twice been before the magistrates in New York, and once in England, for ill-treating passengers and seamen, but he declared that on the last occasion he was "honourably cleared." Mr. Kelly, surgeon, deposed to having attended on Captain Mors, who had received severe wounds on the top of the head; the skull was laid bare, and he had lost much blood. Mr. Aspinall asked the bench to send the matter for trial at the assizes, and he called several witnesses, who stated that the "row" commenced by the Captain striking Freeman; that Freeman remonstrated, when he was roughly collared; that the men interposed to protect him, and that the officers thereupon commenced the attack.

The magistrates refused to send the case before a jury, and Freeman was ordered to pay 5/-, or be imprisoned two months; Jack, Trayner, and Fowler, 3/-, or six weeks; and the others to pay the expenses, or 14 days' confinement. A charge, made by Mr. Aspinall against the Captain for attempting to shoot one of the crew was not entertained. The two men at the infirmary are progressing favourably, but one of them is not yet pronounced out of danger.

MURDERS AND ATROCITIES.

KALABERGO. The Italian, who murdered his uncle near Banbury, will suffer death at Oxford, on the 22nd inst., and the wretched woman, Pinckard, who was condemned at Northampton, for strangling her mother-in-law, will undergo the sentence on the 19th inst. The day for the execution of John Eyres and John Kemish, who were convicted at Winchester for drowning a man, named John Soft, whom they had previously made drunk at Romsey, has not as yet been fixed. Thomas Phillips and Margaret Morgan, of Devynnock, Brecknockshire, are charged with having thrown a living child to a sow, which killed it, and devoured part of it; they were brought up at the Shire-hall, Brecon, on Saturday last, before a full bench of magistrates, and the examination of witnesses lasted for six hours. There is no doubt that they will be fully committed for trial. Arthur Townsend, a painter, was tried at Worcester, on Saturday last, for the murder of David Sandford, at Shipston-on-Stour. A dispute between Sandford and Townsend, at a public-house, led to violent language and threats, and a challenge from Sandford to fight, any morning that the other liked. A fight ensued, and Townsend getting the worst of it, drew a clasp knife, and stabbed his antagonist, who died in a few hours. He was sentenced to fifteen years' transportation. On the same day, and before the same judge, Peter Phelton and John Brogan, labourers, were tried for wounding Sarah Smith, with intent to murder her. Mrs. Smith, with her husband, keeps the toll-gate at Holt-bridge, Osmersley, on the Severn. Soon after midnight, on the 10th of September last, the very day she had given birth to a child, she was sleeping with Martha Clarke, a nurse, when hearing a cry of "Gate!" Mrs. Clarke went to the door. A voice said, "Give me a light." The nurse turned to get a box of matches, when Phelton and Brogan walked in, and Brogan immediately attacked Mrs. Smith, who was in bed, with some heavy weapon, and broke her arm. Phelton then repeatedly struck Mrs. Clarke, the nurse, in the most savage manner, but she at last wrested the stick from his hand, and rushed down to the room where Mrs. Smith's husband was sleeping, below the level of the road. Before Mr. Smith got up stairs the men had gone,

after still further ill-using his wife. Neither of the prisoners were taken until a long time after the occurrence. Brogan was taken in Herefordshire, on a charge of robbery. No motive was shown for the commission of the offence. Phelton once said, in conversation with the officers, "We were both drunk, but it served her right," but would explain himself no further. They were both found guilty, and sentenced to transportation for life. Mary Hodgson, aged thirty-one, was indicted, at York, on Monday, for having endeavoured to conceal the birth of a child, by secretly burning the body; and Richard Jaques, seventy-six years old, (?) for aiding and abetting her. Jaques, who was a minor at Arnciff, near Skipton, was the father of the child; Mary Hodgson lived with him as his housekeeper, and was of weak intellect. They were both found guilty, and Mr. Justice Crosswell sentenced the old man to a year's imprisonment, and the woman to three months. Jaques was removed protesting his innocence.

John Phelan, a medical student, about thirty years of age, and son of a respectable resident at Cashel, was tried at the Criminal Assizes, for having, on the 25th of July, 1850, incited Alice Mincham to murder an infant child, named John Phelan, and another indictment awaited him for procuring the same woman to murder another infant, named Mary Phelan. Alice Mincham was examined. She is a young woman, of vulgar appearance, dark, coarse hair, red face, mean and pinched visage, but not marked with any peculiar character. She deposed that a man, named Diggan, had first spoken to her on behalf of Phelan, who was the father of the children, asking her to take them to the poor-house, and pass them off as the children of her sister, who was married to a soldier, and had gone to foreign parts. Afterwards, Phelan spoke to her, and she agreed to make away with them, as he was afraid "they would be brought home to him." He promised her money. The children were twins, and about two months old. She took the girl first, one morning, at break of day, and took it five miles from Cashel, to a ruined house, where she covered it with thatch. The child was then alive. The next day she took the boy about three miles from the town, to a sand-pit, and put a sod of earth over it. She agreed to murder them, because the devil tempted her. The following answers were elicited on cross-examination:—

Did the child scream when you put it under the thatch?—It did not, for it was sleeping in my arms. (Sensation.)

And when you saw the child sleeping in your arms, and when the prisoner was not there to influence you, you did not desist from your hellish purpose?—I did not.

And that same evening you went back again to Diggan's, and looked upon the other victim that you were to take out and murder in the morning?—I did.

When you covered the second child with the sods, where were the sods obtained?—They were ready cut.

How large was it?—Larger than the seat of the chair.

Did that child cry?—I did not hear it. It was covered too well to cry. (A thrill of horror pervaded the court.)

After the examination of other witnesses, the case for the Crown closed.

Mr. Meagher addressed the jury for Phelan, and submitted that the case was one depending solely upon the evidence of a prostitute and a murderer, and could any man for a moment rely upon a word she uttered?—No witnesses were called for the defence. The jury brought in a verdict of Not Guilty, and John Phelan was discharged.

STONE-THROWING AT TRAINS.

WILLIAM HAY and John Whitnell, two country lads of 13 and 12, were tried before Mr. Serjeant Adams, at the Guildhall, Westminster, on Monday, for casting stones at a railway carriage used on the London and North-Western Railway.

Charles Skelton said:—*"I reside at Oxford. I am a guard on the London and North-Western Railway. As the train was proceeding between Sudbury and Harrow on Wednesday, the 23rd ult., I saw the prisoners and another lad in a field adjoining the line, and each of the prisoners threw a stone at the carriages. One of the stones would have struck me if I had not gone under the covered part of a van. The stone struck the carriage and bounded off. It was the prisoner Whitnell threw the stone that would have struck me."*

James Thomas Cooper, police sergeant, 6 T, stated that when the prisoners were brought to the station-house at Harrow, the prisoner Whitnell said, "I threw a stone, but the train had passed;" and Hay said, "We were only throwing at the telegraph wires."

Hay:—*"I did not throw at the train at all; I threw at a bird on the other side of the railway."*

Whitnell:—*"I was throwing at the telegraph."*

The jury returned a verdict of *Guilty*, with a recommendation to mercy.

The Judge:—*"You see, gentlemen, it will not do to allow boys to throw stones in this way; but such a punishment must be given as will deter other children from doing the same thing. I think a little flogging, perhaps, will be the best thing."*

Mr. Beresford, superintendent of the railway, said that there had been so much stone-throwing on the line, that although they did not wish to press the matter severely on the prisoners, yet the Company wanted to know what the law really was on the subject.

The Judge then referred to the Act, and observed that unfortunately it did not give him the power to order flogging. These boys did not know the mischief that might have happened. They only thought it great fun to throw stones, but it might have cost several lives. If they had been grown-up men, he certainly should have imprisoned them for two years. He hoped the sentence he was about to pass would prevent other boys from playing such tricks. Although they escaped so easily, if this did not put a stop to it, he should be more severe another time. He then

sentenced them to one month's imprisonment and hard labour, and directed that they should be kept apart from the other felons.

MAY I MARRY MY AUNT?

A YOUNG man applied to Mr. Corrie, at Clerkenwell Police Court, on Wednesday, and coolly said: Please your worship, I wish to know whether it is lawful for a man to marry his aunt? (A laugh.)

Mr. Corrie (smiling): It is a most extraordinary question. Have you married your aunt? Applicant: Yes; my mother's sister. (Laughter.)

Mr. Corrie: How old are you? Applicant: Nineteen. Twenty.

Mr. Corrie said that such a marriage was certainly illegal according to the Scriptures, and he referred to *Leviticus* and the *Common Prayer Book*.

The aunt-wife, a good-looking young woman, here said: He is a fool; I am willing to do everything to make him comfortable.

Applicant: I can't live with her, she has got such a bad temper.

Aunt: If the marriage is illegal, and he leaves me, is he not bound to support me?

Mr. Corrie: Oh, no.

Mr. Corrie: Yes.

Aunt: And can I do so?

Mr. Corrie: Yes.

Aunt: Oh! then that's all right. (Laughter.)

Applicant: I'll take good care I'll not get married again; I have had enough of it for the last six months. (Low laughter.)

The applicant then left the court, followed by his aunt-wife, who continued abusing her nephew until they got out of sight.

NEW WAY TO GET A HUSBAND.

A VERY singular case of swindling, says *Galipot's Messenger*, for some time past occupied the god people of Chartres; and it came to *dénouement* for days ago by the trial of the heroine and her mother, as swindlers, by the Tribunal of Correctional Police of that city. The facts were these—Leonic Lehoux, daughter of the driver of the diligence which plies between Chartres and Dreux, conceived in November last the ambition to become a heroine of romance, though she possesses none of the beauty or graces which are generally supposed to be necessary for the part. In execution of the design which she had formed, she borrowed a sum of 100 francs from a fishwoman named Vire, for, she said, a lady of high rank, named Raymond, who had taken her under her protection. The money not having been paid, Madame Vire went to Leonie's mother. At first the mother did not know what was meant, but Leonie produced a letter purporting to come from the Bishop of Chartres, and stating that he intended to marry Leonie to a young man of good family, to give her father and mother 20,000 francs a-year, and to give Leonie herself a fortune of 100,000 francs. All this the mother appeared devoutly to believe, and she made her husband believe it too. The latter accordingly made no hesitation in paying Madame Vire the 100 francs. The Bishop in his letter recommended that his benevolent intentions to the girl should be kept a secret for the present. But the father, in the pride of his heart, could not refrain from talking of it to some rather wealthy farmers, named Brunet, where he was accustomed to stop to change horses. Brunet's son, a young man, thought that a fortune of 100,000 francs was a very tempting thing, and he asked whether Leonie was really to be married to the Bishop's *protégé*—hinting that if she were not, he would have no objection to take her himself. But the father, though willing enough to accept him as a son-in-law, assured him that there was no hope. He showed the young man the Bishop's letter; and the latter could not help remarking that it was couched in rather strange language, as it began, "Dear Madame—I the Lord Bishop of Chartres, Monseigneur Clause de Montal, write these lines to you to produce an effect on your heart," and as moreover there were sundry faults of spelling. But the father sagely answered, that when a bishop was 80 years of age he was at liberty to write strangely, and to spell badly; and this profound observation removed all the scruples of the young man. About a month later, another letter arrived from the Bishop; it told the Lehoux that they should live with him in his palace after the marriage of his beloved Leonie, and that he had already received the first year's rente of 20,000 francs for them, though he could not send it for a few days, as he was short of money. He directed that a new bonnet and a muff should be bought for Leonie, and a cravat for himself. His intention was, he said, to spend 90,000 francs for wedding garments and jewels for her, and to increase her intended fortune from 100,000 to 400,000 francs. He also promised that when Henry V. should be restored to the throne, he would make her "Regent of the Court," and would confer titles on her parents. Dazzled by his approaching good fortune, Lehoux, the father, resigned the post of diligence-driver, and took special delight in talking to tradesmen and neighbours of his own and his daughter's future greatness. It was not without great envy that the humble friends and acquaintances of the family heard of their extraordinary fortune; and when the tradespeople heard of it too, they were naturally disposed to give credit. Mademoiselle Leonie and her mother went to Dreux, where they not only purchased the bonnet, the muff, and the cravat for the Bishop, but a quantity of fine dresses and costly articles, for none of which they paid. They employed a man servant to wait on them, and purchased him a gold-laced hat; and Mademoiselle Leonie indulged herself with a maid. After a while another letter arrived from the Bishop. It set forth that as the husband he had destined for her had attempted to assassinate him, he was determined that he should not have her, and he charged her parents to select themselves a young man who would make her happy. On

this overtures were made to young Brunet, and he eagerly accepted them. The courtship was carried on, the marriage contract drawn up, the wedding dresses purchased, and the happy day fixed. At last it occurred to Brunet, the father, that he might as well consult his lawyer on the subject. He did so, and produced the Bishop's letters. The man of law immediately declared that they must be forgeries, as it was utterly impossible for a prelate to be concerned in such a transaction, or write in such an extraordinary way. An application was made to the prelate's secretary, and he at once declared the letters forgeries, and that the Bishop knew nothing whatever of Mademoiselle Leonie. On this the young lady and her mother were arrested. As to the father, no charge arose against him, as he was from first to last the dupe of his own credulity. The amount out of which different shopkeepers were cheated was considerable. When called on for her defence, Leonie frankly admitted that the letters were forgeries, and that she had written them to get herself fine clothes, and if possible a husband. The mother, in answer to all questions, only exclaimed, "It was in the letter! it was in the letter!" It was contended by the public prosecutor that she knew all along that her daughter was guilty of imposture; but it appeared from her *naïveté* that she had been deceived as well as the father, and she was acquitted. Mademoiselle Leonie, for whom no excuse was possible, was condemned to eighteen months' imprisonment.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The first Cabinet Council of the new Ministry took place on Saturday afternoon, at the Foreign Office, Downing-street, and lasted for three hours. The Ministers present were—The Earl of Derby, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Lonsdale, the Marquis of Salisbury, Mr. Secretary Walpole, the Earl of Malmesbury, the Right Hon. Sir J. S. Pakington, the Right Hon. B. Disraeli, the Duke of Northumberland, the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, the Earl of Hardwick, and Lord John Manners. The Cabinet met at the same hour and place on Monday, and sat for three hours.

The Earl and Countess of Eglington arrived at Dublin on Wednesday, shortly before two o'clock, having landed at Kingston about one o'clock. Lord Eglington rode to the Castle on horseback, wearing a large shamrock on his breast, and surrounded by a brilliant staff. Lady Eglington followed in a chariot drawn by four horses. On the arrival of the *cortege* at the Castle, the ceremony of swearing in was at once proceeded with, and at its conclusion a *feu de joie* was fired by the troops stationed at College-Green. The Lord-Lieutenant subsequently held an undress levee, which was very numerously attended. The Earl of Roden was one of the first persons presented. A strange riot occurred in Dublin on the occasion of Lord Eglington's entry. Some students of Trinity College hung out an orange handkerchief on a lamp-post. A policeman ordered the rag to be struck, but was not obeyed. He struck it himself, a fight ensued—it was replaced, fresh accession of students and townsmen—considerable fighting—military called out—arrests of "gentlemen" ringleaders, and summary punishment of fine and imprisonment inflicted on the rioters. Such is the first spectacle attending the new Lord-Lieutenant. In the course of the afternoon, and before the orange rag was hoisted, a body of students had paraded round the statue of William III. on College Green, keeping time to rounds of "Kentish fire!"

The latest news from the Cape, which came by the *Windsor* in the course of Saturday night, was of a rather favourable character. The general tone of feeling at Cape Town, and throughout the colony, had considerably improved, and the reduction of the Kafir forces was confidently expected. It was rumoured that Sandilli was about to abandon his hostile position. Major-General Somerset had captured six thousand head of cattle, Colonel Eyre seven thousand, and the two officers were in close communication, and preparing for a vigorous attack on the enemy. The Fingoes had rallied faithfully round the British troops, who were in high spirits and health. Major Wilton, Royal Artillery, commanding at Fort Peddie, an able and gallant officer, was shot on New Year's Day, while leading on his men to an attack upon the enemy in the jungle of the Fish River, where it was said Sandilli had taken shelter.

On Sunday evening, the Rev. George Evison, late chaplain of the Roman Catholic congregation at Portsea, recounseled the doctrines of that communion, in the church of St. Paul's, Bermondsey.

The Rev. William Blood, one of the few survivors of the loss of the *Amazon*, and who preached a sermon at Plymouth, describing a series of "particular providences" and mysterious warnings, which led to his escape, has been presented to the incumbency of Temple Grafton, near Aylesbury, in the diocese of Worcester.

On Wednesday, the 3rd inst., the Pope's Nuncio presented Queen Isabella of Spain with a complete set of baby linen, blessed by "His Holiness," for her infant daughter.

A telegraphic despatch, dated Verona, midnight, the 1st of March, announces the arrival of the Emperor of Austria in that city. He was received in grand state by Marshal Radetzky at the head of his staff, and the terminus of the railroad was illuminated.

Dr. Keate, for nearly a quarter of a century head-master of Eton College, expired at his house in Hartley West-hall on the morning of the 5th inst. The loss of this excellent man is an event that will be felt more widely and more sincerely than the death of many a potentate. His name has long been a household word to all "old Eton fellows"—and where are not "old Eton fellows" to be found? Heartily echoing every word of the brief

tribute to his memory we have found in the *Times*, we are confident that from the Earl of Derby to the lag of the lower school, all generations, past and present, with whom *Floreat Etona* is an abiding watchword, will cherish the memory of Keate, and the fond traditions of his severe and firm, but ever kindly and generous sway. And we may add that the rare merits and the eminent services of his successor in authority at Eton have especial claims upon the present Premier, who is himself an Eton man. Dr. Hawtrey has maintained the noblest school in England in the highest state of efficiency, and as might have been expected from his own enlightened judgment and liberal taste, in harmony with the advanced spirit of our times. For all the best and heartiest elements in our aristocracy we may thank Eton,—the nursery of our captains, our statesmen, our poets, our philosophers. "In Dr. Keate," writes a correspondent to the *Times*, "Eton has lost the most distinguished of her scholars. During nearly a quarter of a century he guided the studies and preserved the discipline of this school with unparalleled success. The vigour and accuracy of his scholarship, particularly in composition, was not more remarkable than his modesty, and the extent of his mental powers was less known than it might have been, only because a strong sense of duty disposed him to concentrate their whole force on the instruction of his scholars. He was just and fearless in the exercise of authority. A certain sternness of manners veiled in a slight degree, but never concealed, a singular kindness of heart, and few have ever obtained in the same position so much of the respect and affection of Eton boys and Eton men." Peace be to his ashes!

Major-General Lacy, director-general of artillery, died at his official residence, at Woolwich, on Tuesday, after fifty-six years' service in the Royal Artillery.

Mash Marmont died at Venice, on the 2nd inst., in the seventy-eighth year of his age. He was born at Châtillon-sur-Seine, on the 20th July, 1774. He served with Bonaparte in Egypt, and accompanied him with Murat and Laumes, on his sudden return to France. In the campaigns of 1805, Marmont commanded a corps-d'armée, and having invaded the Republic of Ragusa, and defeated the combined Russians and Montenegrins, he received from the Emperor the title of Duke of Ragusa. In 1812, he was completely defeated by Wellington, at Salamanca, and was severely wounded by a splinter from a shell, which rendered amputation of the right arm below the elbow necessary. In 1814, he was operating on the Marne, in conjunction with Mortier, for the defence of France from the Allies, and was compelled to retreat on Paris. Ten days afterwards, he capitulated, and the next day marched out of Paris. He took the oath to Louis XVIII., and kept it during the Hundred Days. It was his singular fate to surrender Paris a second time, in 1830, when he had been entrusted by Charles X. with the command of all the troops. Since that period he never returned to France. Marmont was an accomplished scholar, and published an interesting volume of *Travels* in the East, and several works on Military Science.

Lady Jane Dalrymple Hamilton, whose death took place at Paris last Sunday, was the eldest daughter of the celebrated Admiral Lord Duncan and sister of the Earl of Camperdown. In her youth she was reckoned one of the most beautiful women of the day, and attracted much admiration on that remarkable occasion when, hanging on the veteran arm of her stately and gallant father, she appeared in the Royal procession which went to St. Paul's after the battle of Camperdown to give thanks for the great naval victories. She afterwards married Sir Hew Dalrymple Hamilton, of Bargeny and North Berwick, in Scotland. Their only child, and the heiress of the great Bargeny estates, was married to the Duke de Coigny, and their eldest daughter and heiress is married to Mr. Dalrymple, the Lord-Lieutenant of Wigtonshire, and heir presumptive to the Earl of Stair, who also married the sister of Lady Jane Dalrymple Hamilton.

The report in favour of the Fleet Valley Improvement Bill was carried on Thursday in the Court of Common Council, by a bare majority of two.

The fifth of the Course of Working-men's Scientific Lectures was delivered on Monday evening, at the Museum of Practical Geology, Jermyn-street, by W. W. Smyth, M.A., "On the Mode of Occurrence of Metals in Nature." The lecture was chiefly explanatory of the arrangement of the Museum.

There was a meeting of factory delegates at Manchester on Sunday, to consider the propriety of applying to Parliament to insert the words "no child" in the Act of 1850, so as to prevent relay working, but ultimately it was determined only to apply to the present Government to better enforce the regulations of the present Act through the inspectors.

Three important declarations in favour of Free Trade have lately been made: on Monday, by the Manchester Commercial Association, a body of Conservative tendencies, which seceded from the Anti-Corn-Law League at the time that the Radical, Mr. George Wilson, was appointed its chairman; and on Tuesday by the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, and by a meeting of eminent merchants at Liverpool. At all these meetings petitions to Parliament were adopted, praying for an adherence to the policy of free imports of food.

On Friday week a meeting of the inhabitants of Holmfirth and the neighbourhood was held at the Town Hall, Halifax, to consult regarding the state of the Holme Styes Reservoir. Mr. James Charlesworth presided, and said that having with his own eyes seen the state of the Reservoir, he was in great apprehension as to its stability. The following resolution was passed:—"That in consideration of the recent statements concerning the Holme Styes Reservoir, this meeting resolves to petition Parliament to take immediate steps to secure us against danger in future, and to make the commissioners responsible in law as they

are in fact." A petition to that effect was adopted, and is to be entrusted to Mr. E. B. Denison, M.P., for presentation.

The town council of Salford, on Wednesday, after an animated discussion, affirmed the following proposition:—Proposed by Alderman Higgins, and seconded by Councillor Langworthy,—"That inasmuch as there are two schemes now before the public, and about to be discussed in Parliament, having for their object the better education of the children of the working classes, and both based on a public rate, this council admits that there is great need of increased education amongst the working classes, and that it is desirable to supply the means by a public rate, to be limited in amount, and to be under local management." The votes were seventeen for the motion (including that of the mayor), and fourteen against it. Only one member of the council was absent, and all present voted. The assessment of the seventeen gentlemen who carried the motion is £243*l.*, and of the fourteen who formed the minority, £22*6d.*

A public meeting in favour of the National Public School Association was held in the Exchange Hall, Nottingham, on Thursday week. Mr. Felkin, the Mayor, presided. The Rev. Mr. Stevenson, Baptist minister of Nottingham, moved, "That this meeting recognises a great deficiency in the existing supply of the means of popular instruction, and records its conviction that that need will be best met by a general system supported by local rates, and under local management, and that shall provide secular instruction only." Mr. Alderman Heymann seconded the motion. Dr. Watts supported the resolution in a lengthened speech, in which he thoroughly elucidated the scheme of the National Association. It was then put and carried *en bloc*. The Rev. J. A. Baynes moved, and Mr. Councillor Eyre seconded, that a petition praying for the adoption of the scheme be forwarded to the House of Commons. A working man in the garb of a "navy," whose name was given as George Woodward, expressed his approval of a compulsory educational scheme, but remarked that something was radically wrong in the present system, or the people would be able to educate their own children.

Mr. John McClean, the chief engineer of the *Ross* steamer, which trades between Bristol and Waterford, committed suicide by blowing his brains out in his own house at Bristol, on Friday week. He has left a wife and five children.

Shortly after work had commenced on Tuesday morning at Mr. Edward Dorset's naphtha and tar works at Raven's Bond-creek, Deptford, an explosion took place, the premises burst into flames, and the combustible materials ran in liquid fire over the ground, and floating unextinguished on the water of the creek, burnt one side of a sailing barge. Six engines arrived, and, after some hours' work, succeeded in preventing the fire from spreading to any of the adjoining buildings. A great deal of property was destroyed, and the works were not insured.

On last Sunday morning, there was such a disturbance created in the workhouse of the Pulham Union, Norfolk, by the able-bodied paupers, that it was found necessary to send for the police. Superintendent Witherford and six constables arrived, and in a very short time a regular battle commenced, which terminated in favour of "law and order." On Monday twelve of the ringleaders were brought before the magistrates, when three were sent to prison for two months, and two for six weeks, with hard labour; the remainder were discharged with a severe reprimand.

On the 3rd of March, a grand dinner was given by the garrison at Malta to Admiral Sir Wm. Parker, Bart., and to General Ellice. Several guests of distinction, among whom was his Excellency the Governor, were invited, and the party sat down 127. The room was tastefully hung with flags, men in *armour* were in the passages, and a guard of honour, supplied by the 3rd regiment, the Buffs, received the guests of the evening. The same authority from which we gather the above also states that the *Vengeance*, 84, and *Terrible* (steam frigate), left Malta on the 1st instant. The sudden departure was matter of much speculation, and the whereabouts being kept a profound secret, serves to increase the wonder. England, however, is assigned to them by some, and Port Mahon by others. The *Abou* and *Helleroph* line-of-battle ships are also ordered to get ready for sea.

About twelve o'clock on the night of Thursday week, a couple of *profuse* thieves effected an entrance into Auckland Palace. After scouring the culinary and reception apartments without profit to themselves or loss to episcopacy, they ascended to the next story. There the irreverent scamps found their way into the room where the Bishop of Durham and Mrs. Maitby slept; and thence, notwithstanding the very natural inquiry from Mrs. Maitby, "who was there?" they managed to retire, carrying off with them the bishop's purse. The contents, however, probably disappointed the rogues, as they are reported not to have exceeded three pounds. Next day the bishop entertained the judges on circuit!

An inquest was held at Hampton-court Palace on Wednesday last, before Mr. Frederick John Manning, coroner of her Majesty's household, on the body of Miss Julia Gordon, a young lady, aged fifteen years, one of the daughters of Lord Henry Gordon, residing in Hampton-court Palace, who met her death by the accidental burning of her night-dress. Miss Gordon was in the habit, in the morning, of sitting near the fire in the study, which was near the bed-room, with no other clothes on than her night-dress; and that on Saturday morning the nurse was alarmed by perceiving Miss Julia Gordon running out of the study enveloped in flames, with no other covering but her night-dress, which was partially burnt upwards. The screams of the young lady attracted the attention of Lady Henry Gordon, who rushed from her bed-room, and, regardless of herself, with the presence of mind prompted by a mother's affection for her child, succeeded in extinguishing

ing the flames, but not without suffering severely in the attempt. The unfortunate young lady was so severely burned, that notwithstanding the constant attendance of Mr. Francis Baker, surgeon, of Hampton Court, she lingered in great agony until four o'clock on Monday morning, when she expired. The Jury, after hearing the evidence, returned, without hesitation, a verdict of Accidental Death. Lady Henry Gordon is an invalid, and suffers severly from the effects of her courageous exertion to save her child.

Last week, the wife of a poor man, out of employ, named Frederick Shaw, gave birth to a still-born child; husband and wife were nearly starving, and the woman, during her confinement, and after it, had been lying on the bare floor. Mr. Ingham, the magistrate at the Thames Police Court, on being informed of this appalling distress by a gentleman, gave Shaw ten shillings from the poor-box, and directed Wittleton, an officer of the Court, to make inquiries, who found that the story was by no means overcharged. Shaw expended the money presented to him in procuring a few necessities, and saved his wife from perishing. Previous to the application to the magistrate, the relieving officer, Sergeant, had granted Shaw and his wife one quarton loaf, two ounces of tea, and a half-pound of sugar, to support them for a week. Shaw applied again to Mr. Sergeant on Saturday last, and was told that he must pick three pounds of oakum before any more relief could be granted. As he was himself in a very weak state, and could not leave his wife without any one to attend her, Shaw went again to Mr. Ingham, who sent him back to Sergeant, with a message to the effect that relief ought to be given him without his being compelled to leave his wife for oakum-picking. Wittleton, the constable, having entered himself with the Guardians of the Stepney Union, the poor fellow and his wife were relieved with meat and other necessities. During the day Mr. Ingham received subscriptions to the amount of 10/- for Shaw and his wife, and on Monday Mr. Yardley, at the same Court, acknowledged the receipt of some additional sums for them.

On Friday week, a little before eleven o'clock in the morning, on that part of the line of the North Western Railway which runs parallel with a lane leading to the Kensal-green Cemetery, and just opposite to the depot of the Clay-Cross collieries, five men were employed in ploughing. A down-train and an up-train approached at the same time, both sounding their whistles. It is supposed that the men could not distinguish that there were two whistles, for their attention was directed solely to the down-train; the up-train came on, and before they could jump off the line, three of them were knocked down by the engine, run over by its wheels, and by those of some of the carriages. Two escaped unhurt, and assisted to convey the dead bodies of their comrades to the Kilburn Station, to await the coroner's inquest. The names of the men who were killed are George Chapman, Richard Fenwick, and William Rowley; they were young men, fresh from the country, and only began work in London three days before their death. The inquest was held on Monday at the Bell Tavern, Kilburn, and the jury returned a verdict of "Accidental death," with the following recommendation:—"That, in order to prevent the recurrence of any catastrophe of the kind, the directors of the Company, or the contractors of any works upon this line of railway, should station a person or superintendent over every gang of men, to give them sufficient intimation of the approach of the trains."

A curious case of "family jars" was tried before Lord Campbell and a special jury on Thursday week, at Bedford. Mowbray, a butcher, and a stout Churchman, of Luton, in Bedfordshire, lived happily enough with his dissenting wife, until he unluckily consented to admit her dissenting aunt under his roof. This lady was given to proselytism, and having revived the languid zeal of Mrs. Mowbray, the two ladies sought to starve and "worry" the orthodox butcher into unanimity, by taking their meals alone, and in his absence, and leaving him to cater for himself. Occasionally (and no wonder!) Mowbray was heard to swear at his wife, and once he threatened to knock her head off. At last, on the 23rd of November last, having been told by his wife to "go and get his breakfast wherever he liked," he was provoked to box his wife's ears, and about an hour after this, Braydon, the superintendent of police at Luton, and defendant in this action, walked into the shop, and inquired, "What the row was about?" Being told by Mrs. Mowbray that her husband had threatened her, the guardian of the public peace determined to put a stop to this private squabble, marched the persecuted butcher off to a cold cell, and "locked him up with a felon." When taken before a magistrate he was at once discharged, had a violent fit of rheumatism, reconciled himself with his wife, and gave the aunt notice to quit. The matter excited much interest at Luton, and the manager of the Theatre Royal, "regardless of expense," fasted; Mowbray and his wife being typified as "Mr. and Mrs. Harmless," and the aunt as "Mra. Cantwell, a serious lady." Mowbray quite entered into the fun of the thing; he slapped his wife, and witnessed the performance himself. Lord Campbell, in summing up the evidence, said that although the plaintiff, Mowbray, might have suffered some inconvenience from the affair, he did not seem always to have taken a serious view of it, or he would not have lent his "property" to the manager, or have attended at the performance. The jury gave a verdict for the defendant, and Lord Campbell, in answer to a question from Mr. O'Malley, the counsel for Mowbray, said he thought "the action was a very disgraceful one, and ought not to have been brought."

The compass of the *Great Britain* was adjusted on Monday by the operation technically called "swinging;" the huge ship was swung to every point of the compass, and, notwithstanding the great local attraction, her needles were found correct.

The electric telegraph was opened as far as Doncaster on the Great Northern Railway on Tuesday.

At Mr. Smith's building-yards on the Tyne, preparations are going on for building a screw steam-frigate of 50 guns and 2500 tons, for the Sardinian government. She will be much the largest vessel ever launched on that river. Smith's yards are replete with the best modern machinery; and his sheds for building under are very large, and well contrived with staircases and gangways, and very superior to those at Portsmouth.

The works of the railway from St. Petersburg to Warsaw are being carried on with extraordinary activity. The number of workmen at present exceeds 10,000, and the work during part of the night. All the rails necessary for this immense line are to be delivered by the end of July, and the contracts for the supply of locomotives have just been signed.

The churchwardens of St. Paul's Church, Covent-garden, have resolved to erect memorial tablets for two well-known poets whose remains rest within their precincts—Butler, the author of "Hudibras," and Dr. Walcott, the noted Peter Pindar.

Our readers will remember the scandal about Lord Ranclagh and the officers of the Greenwich Railway. It has been compromised by each party withdrawing the evidence, and agreeing to consider that there was "some mistake."

Mr. Herbert, the distinguished artist, has, we regret to hear, resigned his appointment in connexion with the School of Design at Somerset-house, having several days ago taken farewell of the students.

The Hungarian Musical Company, who have performed before one emperor, four kings, and two dukes, are giving a series of six concerts at St. James's Theatre, and will during the series perform many of their national airs, and selections from the most celebrated European com-

posers.

Mr. William Wells Brown, a fugitive slave, is about to publish a book, entitled "Three Years in Great Britain; or, Places I have Seen and People I have Met." If a sufficient number of subscribers can be obtained, the book will appear on the 1st of June. Mr. Brown's address is 22, Cecil Street, Strand.

The fine old forest of Burnham Beeches, near Wimbleton, was, on Sunday evening last, in imminent danger of destruction by a conflagration, which had its commencement in a large tract of underwood, gorse, and heath, immediately adjoining the forest boundary. For two or three hours the fire extended with fearful rapidity, attracting hundreds of spectators to the spot, who afforded much valuable aid with praiseworthy alacrity, in arresting the progress of the flames, which object was happily attained, but not until nearly twenty acres of underwood had been consumed, and considerable damage done to that of larger growth. The fire crept out into the Beeches at one point, but the damage done to them was very inconsiderable. The fire is not satisfactorily known to have arisen by accident.

The League subscription up to Thursday night amounted to nearly 50,000/-.

Up to Thursday, the subscriptions for the relief of the sufferers by the Holmfirth catastrophe amounted to 47,650/-, but large as this sum is, it is not probable that the persons who have suffered will receive anything to compare with the pecuniary losses they have sustained.

A parliamentary paper has just been published, showing that on the 20th November, 1850, there were 1,092,581 individual depositors in savings banks, whose deposits, with interest, amounted to 27,198,563. There were 12,912 charitable institutions depositing with savings banks, amounting to 655,093/-, and 7506 friendly societies to 1,077,326/- The total depositors number 1,112,000, and the amount, with interest, 28,930,982/- There were besides 588 friendly societies in direct account with the Commissioners of the National Debt, and the amount deposited was 2,277,340/-

A very useful analysis of the balance-sheets of the following railway companies,—the London and North Western, Brighton, Great Western, South Western, Lancashire and Yorkshire, Midland, South Eastern, York, Newcastle and Berwick, York and North Midland, Great Northern, Eastern Counties, and East Lancashire,—is published, half-yearly, by Mr. William Wadeson, a sworn broker, and member of the Stock Exchange, 76, Old Broad-street, once discharged, had a violent fit of rheumatism, reconciled himself with his wife, and gave the aunt notice to quit. The matter excited much interest at Luton, and the manager of the Theatre Royal, "regardless of expense," dramatized it, under the title of "The Butcher's Breakfast;" Mowbray and his wife being typified as "Mr. and Mrs. Harmless," and the aunt as "Mra. Cantwell, a serious lady."

Mowbray quite entered into the fun of the thing; he slapped his wife, and witnessed the performance himself. Lord Campbell, in summing up the evidence, said that although the plaintiff, Mowbray, might have suffered some inconvenience from the affair, he did not seem always to have taken a serious view of it, or he would not have lent his "property" to the manager, or have attended at the performance. The jury gave a verdict for the defendant, and Lord Campbell, in answer to a question from Mr. O'Malley, the counsel for Mowbray, said he thought "the action was a very disgraceful one, and ought not to have been brought."

A parliamentary paper was published on Tuesday, being a return which was moved for by Mr. Newdegate shortly after the meeting of parliament, from which it appears that of able-bodied paupers relieved in-doors, at the beginning of 1851, there were 21,822; at the end of it 18,869, a reduction of nearly one-seventh. On the 1st of January, 1851, in out-door relief there were 200 men relieved in cases of sudden and urgent necessity, and 220 on the 1st

of January, 1852, being the only case of increase within the year. Of the adult able-bodied women receiving relief out of doors, the following reductions have taken place within the year:—Of "widows," from 50,730 to 47,000, being a reduction of eight per cent.; of "wives of adult males" (we presume the husbands also receiving relief) some one of the before-mentioned classes) from 26,424 to 23,004, being a reduction of seventeen per cent.; of "single women without children," from 6387 to 5499; of "mothers of illegitimate children," from 3707 to 3453; of "wives relieved on account of husbands being in gaol, &c.," from 1912 to 1911; of "wives of soldiers, sailors, and marines relieved," from 517 to 461; and of "wives of other non-resident males," from 3361 to 3225.

The Directors of the Railway Passengers' Assurance Company report an increased amount of business during the last half-year, and a satisfactory result in the working of the company. The tickets which have been issued during the six months ending the 31st December, are as follows:—Periodical tickets, 2227. Double journey tickets, second class, 273; third class, 19,471. Single journey tickets, first class, 29,520; second class, 74,016; third class, 133,468. The amount received for premiums is 41,071. 2s. 3d.—showing an increase of 1041. 6s. 6d. upon the previous half-year, and making the total receipts of the year 1851, the sum of 73,521. 18s. The claims upon the company for compensation, which have been made and adjusted during the past half-year, consist of eight fatal cases, and eighty-five cases of personal injury; and the entire number of claims met by payments since the formation of the company, consist of ten fatal cases, on which an aggregate amount of 2580/- has been paid, and 184 cases of personal injury, the payments on which, in various sums, have amounted to 3209. 3s.; making a total paid in compensation on 194 claims, up to the 31st of December last, of 5789. 3s., in addition to the sum of 324. 15s. 6d. paid for medical expenses. The Directors recommend that the proprietors should receive interest for the half-year on the amount paid on their shares, at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, free of income-tax, which will leave a balance in hand of 1913. 13s. to be carried over to the next half-year.

HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

In the second week of February, the deaths registered in the metropolis were 970; in the first week of March, which ended last Saturday, they rose to 1128. This latter number is the highest that has occurred during the nine weeks that have elapsed since the 3rd of January; and it deserves also to be noticed that the mean temperature of last week was lower than in any other week during the same interval. In the first week of February, when the mean temperature was 47°, the deaths were 1016; and in last week, when the temperature was 36.4°, the return exhibits an increase of more than a hundred deaths.

In the ten corresponding weeks of the years 1849-51, the average number was 1021; if this average is raised in proportion to increase of population, it becomes 1123, an amount which nearly coincides with the 1128 deaths registered last week.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.

BIRTHS.

On the 4th inst., at Hornsey-lane, Highgate, Mrs. T. S. Scrimgeour, a son.

On the 5th inst., at Morden-terrace, the wife of H. Stott, Esq., surgeon, Blackheath: a son.

On Friday, the 5th inst., at Brooke Vicarage, near Norwich, the wife of the Rev. Dr. Beale: a daughter.

On the 6th inst., at Aynsley St. Lawrence, Lady Emily Cavendish: a daughter.

On the 8th inst., Lady Armstrong, wife of Sir Andrew Armstrong, Bart., M.P.: a son.

MARRIAGES.

On the 12th of January, at Meerut, East Indies, H. Topham Clements, Esq., 14th (King's) Light Dragoons, to Caroline Sarah, youngest daughter of Lieutenant-Colonel L. H. Smith, 6th Bengal Light Cavalry.

On the 13th of January, at St. John's Church, Calcutta, Robert, son of Major Doran, late of H. M. 18th Royal Irish, to Mary Rebecca, daughter of the late Thomas Bracken, Esq., of Belchamp, St. Paul's, Essex.

On the 14th inst., at Amsterdam, Mr. Jonathan Chaplin, of 88, New Bond-street, to Agathe Gertrude Brondgeest, daughter of the late M. Brondgeest, of the above city.

DEATHS.

On the 1st of January last, killed in action while gallantly leading on his troops against the Caffres, on the borders of the Fish River, Capt. of Good Hope, Henry Robert Eardley-Wilmot, Major Royal Artillery, fifth son of the late Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, Bart., of Berkswell-hall, in the county of Warwick.

On the 3rd inst., at Bexley-heath, Kent, Andrew Biggs, R.I.B., aged 56, many years connected with the London press.

On the 5th inst., at Hadley Green, Mr. William Jones Cleaver, bookseller, of 46, Piccadilly, aged 51.

On Friday, the 5th inst., at Hartley Westgate, Hants, the Rev. John Keate, D.D., for many years Head Master of Eton College and a Canon of Windsor.

On Saturday, the 6th inst., at the residence of his paternal uncle, Torriano-avenue, Camden-town, William James Spendlove, aged 26, son of Mr. John G. Boardman, organist of the Clapham Grammar School.

At Paris, after a prolonged illness, Jean André Nicholas Amédée, Viscount de Séguir-Montaigne.

On the 6th inst., at Ryde, in the 67th year of his age, Vice-Admiral Sir William A. Montagu, C.B., K.C.H.

On the 7th inst., at Paris, the Right Hon. Lady Jane D'Alrymple Hamilton, in her 74th year.

Margaret Henrietta Maria Milbank, only daughter of the late Lord and Lady Grey of Crosby, and sister of the present Earl of Stamford and Warrington, aged 26.

On the 8th inst., after three weeks' illness, at the residence of his father, 15, Cambridge-street, Hyde-park-square, Henry Minasi, jun., Esq., eldest son of Henry S. Minasi, Esq., His Sicilian Majesty's Consul-General, aged 32.

On the 9th inst., at Belvedere-house, Ryde, Isle of Wight, the Right Hon. Lady Decies.

The offer of H. L. S. declined, with thanks.

W. YOUNG.—The novel in question has not been finished. Mr. Nutt, of the Strand, would, doubtless, furnish a copy.

P. D. will, on reflection, see that, except on some special occasion, we cannot undertake to send answers to our correspondents. Reasons of MS. are sent to us; the portion which we can find use or room for is extremely small, the remainder is silently destroyed; to give specific reasons for every case of rejection might employ the whole of one person's time.

We were half-inclined to publish Mr. Langley's remonstrance, in consideration that his adjectives, though still temperate, are no longer unpublishable; but we are deterred by the threat with which he concludes, and we must leave him to carry it out.

Errors in our last Number:—In "Continental Notes," page 219, for "Austrian Congress at Berlin," read, "Custome Congress at Berlin."

In leading article, page 228, column 3, for "was of a nature to make their countrymen hang their heads for shame," read "was of a nature to make his countrymen," &c.

Postscript.

SATURDAY, March 13.

Both Houses of Parliament met last night. In the House of Commons, Lord John Russell abandoned his Reform Bill, by moving that the second reading be postponed for three months. At the same time, he announced that he would proceed with the Corrupt Practices at Elections Bill, which was postponed until the 24th. Sir W. P. Wood resigned the Suitors in Chancery Bill to Mr. Walpole, who also took charge of the St. Albans Disfranchisement Bill, which, notwithstanding the opposition of Mr. Jacob Bell, was read a second time.

In the House of Lords, Lord LYNDHURST, in moving for some returns, hoped Parliament would not be dissolved until the great mass of private legislation, and the measures of legal reform, had been disposed of. The Lord CHANCELLOR made a statement of his intentions in respect of the latter, but he was so inaudible in the gallery, that no intelligible report has reached us. He was understood to say, that he was favourable to a thorough reform of the Court of Chancery, and intended to bring in bills founded on the report of the Chancery Commission.

The ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA has at length issued its programme for the forthcoming season, which is to be opened on Tuesday, the 23rd inst., by the production of Donizetti's *Les Martyrs*. The programme for 1852 is even more rich and varied, though more compact and decided, than its predecessors. All the great artists, who may be said to have become a part of the establishment, are re-engaged; fresh names of confirmed European celebrity are added; the choral and orchestral forces are strengthened; the ballet reinforced; and the supreme musical direction is to be still under the admirable sway of Costa.

Soprano's *Faust*, to be produced under the immediate superintendence of the composer; Weber's *Oberon*, and Rossini's charming *Comte Ory*, are among the prominent announcements; and foremost on the file is a new Grand Opera, by M. JULLIEN, a promise that will excite the liveliest interest and expectation.

We confidently believe that the genuine success of *Pietro il Grande* (a capital theme for the composer) will prove that the man who has done so much to popularize, can do even more to elevate and ennoble his art.

Mr. DISRAELI was re-elected yesterday at Aylesbury, for the county of Buckingham, without any real opposition. He was proposed by Mr. P. D. P. Duncombe, and seconded by Mr. G. Carrington, of Missenden Abbey. A show of opposition was raised by Mr. Gibbs, who proposed Dr. Lee, of Hartwell House, and criticised the youthful political escapades of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mr. Disraeli made a long speech, claiming great praise for his frankness, in laying before his hearers a clear statement of the policy of his government—a policy we have been unable to detect. He briefly entered into the history of the establishment of the Free-trade policy, which, he said, had been agreed to without due regard to the great productive interests involved—agricultural, colonial, and maritime. When the Corn-Laws were repealed, the question of the Poor-rates ought to have been settled; when the sugar duties were modified, slave-grown and free sugar were unjustly placed on an equality. When the Navigation Laws were repealed, vexation laws were still kept in force, which crippled the energies and resources of the seamen and shipowners.

Mr. Disraeli then developed his own pet theory, that the abrogation of protection left the landowners burdened with an over-weight of taxation as compared to other classes, and that, to remedy this grievance, countervailing duties were required. Wheat, he claimed, the political economists say should not

grow; and on barley, your next best crop, they raise a revenue of 11,000,000*l.* If you must not tax wheat, why tax barley? Mr. McCulloch was cited as the advocate of countervailing duties of 7*s.* on wheat as compensatory for the withdrawal of protection; and of 2*s.* on barley as an equivalent to the diminished consumption consequent on the taxation of malt.

"I agree with Mr. McCulloch thus far, that I think it the cheapest, the easiest mode, the mode least expensive for the community to settle this question by a countervailing duty. (Hear.) I think there is not one penny that would enter into the aggregate of that countervailing duty which might not be almost scientifically ascertained; and I have no doubt that much less than the English producer is scientifically entitled to, he would, in the spirit of compromise for which all classes of Englishmen are distinguished, accept. (Hear, hear.) That is my opinion, speaking for the community; not speaking for a class, not speaking for the cultivator of the soil, not speaking for those who are my constituents, but speaking for the community, it is my deliberate opinion that the cheapest, the easiest, and most effective, the least onerous manner of paying our debts—for it comes to that (hear, hear)—would be to follow the policy recommended by Mr. McCulloch. (Hear, hear.) But I am not going to say that if the people of England, though they may admit the injustice they have committed to the agricultural interest, and though they may express a willingness to settle their claims in a spirit of fairness and even of liberality, are determined, from what I may consider prejudice, or passion, or short-sighted views—if the general body of the community have this prejudice against setting the question in the manner which has been recommended by the highest authorities, I am not going to pledge the existence of a government or a policy upon such a measure. (Hear, hear.) What I would pledge a government to—the policy which I think no government ought to shrink from who have acceded to office under the circumstances in which we have—is to secure for the agricultural interest ample and complete redress. (Hear, hear.) I am of opinion, as I said before, that the simplest and the cheapest mode for the community is the one which these great authorities in political economy have recommended."

And if some such course be not adopted, then he hinted in that something like the course recommended by the Free-traders that day—a national poor-rate—the solution must be found.

He actually went so far as to deny that a countervailing duty would "interfere with our commercial system;" that under Free-trade the condition of the labourer had improved (cheers); but that was a consequence not of Free-trade but Irish emigration, which had kept the labour market scantly supplied, and the great gold discoveries which had supplied the deficiencies in the Bank caused by the drain of gold to pay for free imports. He menaced the Free-traders with the immense sacrifices which they would have to make as the price of a dissolution; but if the country were prepared to sacrifice its private legislation, chancery reform, national defence, and the disfranchisement of the borough of St. Albans. (L.) The Protectionists have not the slightest objection, and will recommend a dissolution as soon as you like.

Turning from these topics, he thus menaced the Opposition, and laid down the only active policy we can discover in the speech. Criticising the late ministers:—

"I hear that the late Administration and their friends—perhaps their friends, and not the late Administration (a laugh)—are eager, as they say, that the country should give immediately a decision upon the great issue of Free-trade. I shrink from no immediate decision; but allow me to say that, as far as I am concerned, the issue shall not be narrowed to the mere question of commercial legislation. I shall ask the country to decide upon the policy of the late Government in every respect and in every department—upon that foreign policy which we endeavoured to check two years ago, though we were defeated in the attempt, and which the late Prime Minister of England, only two months ago, virtually announced that we were right in opposing. I shall ask the opinion of the country upon the colonial policy of the late Administration, (hear, hear,) a decision of the House of Commons upon which they escaped—I will not say they evaded—by the local militia. (Laughter.) I shall ask the opinion of the country upon that question of law reform to which I have referred.

After some skirmishing with a Mr. Barry, Mr. Disraeli was elected by a show of hands, and Dr. Lee withdrew. In the evening there was a great dinner of Mr. Disraeli's friends.

Sir John Trollope was duly elected yesterday at Stamford, for South Lincolnshire.

Lord Naas, the new Chief Secretary for Ireland, has given up the contest in Kildare. His committee, in a letter to him contesting this course, allege that the price of success would be "strife and ill-will," and that a coalition of the most opposite parties has been formed to defeat his lordship. Lord Naas had no alternative but to yield at once. This is a bitter lesson for the Tories.

Armand Marrast died in Paris, on Wednesday afternoon. He was one of the ablest journalists of our day.

Lady Graham, wife of Sir Edward Graham, of Esk, accompanied by her son, called, yesterday, on a friend living in Metropolitan-buildings, St. Pancras-road. Her friend was out. Returning down stairs, Lady Graham's foot slipped, and she fell to the bottom, her head striking a door so violently, that her neck was broken, and she died.

The Leader

SATURDAY, MARCH 13, 1852.

Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—Dr. ARNOLD.

THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS OF NEXT WEEK.

POSSIBLY we may have next week to record a "bankruptcy superseded;" for the effete factions of the day are only too willing to shield in each other the worst infirmities that beset them all; but according to the present prospect, the new Ministers will have to undergo a "crisis," at the very moment of their meeting the House of Commons.

They are threatened from both sides: the Whigs, panting with the desire to return to office, are planning a combined attack; and the ultra-Protectionists, impatient at the bare idea of postponing the instant application of their doctrine, are said to contemplate an immediate compulsion on the poor Ministers. Thrust into office unexpectedly, without any estimates or measures prepared, unable perchance to postpone the general election beyond the few days required for passing the inevitable continuance bills, Ministers are in a position neither enviable nor deserved.

Always excepting the undeniable fact, which we set forth last week, that Lord Derby ought not to have accepted office without a clearer warrant in the competency to hold it and to perform its duties.

Every day confirms our conviction, that a statesman ought not to undertake the formation of a Cabinet, unless he is prepared for a definite policy, and a responsible adherence to that policy. Every day exhibits new evils in the situation of a Ministry which offers no test of its capacity to command political power, but is launched into a sea of chances, bent only on avoiding critical questions. The opportunity of calling a Ministry to account is valuable, not only for trying the influence which attaches to its principles, but still more for the purpose of putting to the ordeal the working strength of the Government itself. The country has had enough of ricketty Governments, and cannot be expected to tolerate one that avoids the plainest test of its own right to official existence. It certainly cannot be strong enough to be useful; cannot be strong enough to deal usefully with the great questions that press for effective handling.

Of those, Free-trade is in fact the least urgent; since it is settled beyond the power of the Protectionists to unsettle it. Our imports of bread-stuffs are now derived from fifty countries, with whom corresponding exchanges, direct or indirect, must be made; and no Minister dares disturb that amount of commerce, much less to annihilate it. It is one of those things that, being done, cannot be undone; like the breaking of an egg, which cannot be made whole again.

A second and far more pressing question is that of Reform—the key to amending the law-making machine; which is in a state practically vexatious and injurious to the people at large. From handling that question the present Ministry is absolutely debarred by its antecedents.

A third great practical question is finance, including the abolition or amendment of the Income-tax, the reduction of that immense military expenditure which is so lavish and so wasteful, and the immense mass of charge yearly for the National Debt, in the settlement of which a beginning ought to be made; but will Ministers find vigour to deal effectually even with the Income-tax, pledged as they are to favour the land-owners, already so largely favoured in the incidence of that impost?

The fourth question is the one with many branches—the regulation of industry. Whether we are to have Free-trade or not, the burdens or restraints under which several branches of in-

dustry suffer are no figments, and will derive an additional weight from the sense of grievance if they are neglected by a Ministry specially pledged to the "protection of industry." Land-owners suffer, but not alone; the shipowners also; the farmers most seriously; the labouring classes, both in town and country. Land lies idle, and last year Mr. Disraeli recognised the necessity of a stimulus for the application of capital to land, which he discerned in a limited partnership: will he have sufficient strength to confer such a boon on the industrious classes?—or to confer it *soon enough* to secure confidence in his Ministry?

The fifth great class of questions is that of national defence,—the one on which the late Ministry went out of office. The question is, how to render our national defence adequate to the necessity, *without* adding materially to the expense? The process is possible—is imperatively demanded; but it needs a Government strong in will and power.

Sixthly,—How are Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli to coerce their own stubborn and intractable party into discipline within the time allowed before an election? All the questions which we have indicated will be in active discussion at the election, and more to boot,—such as anti-papery, sanitary reform and centralization, &c., and the wretched old question of Protection, which political society has quite outgrown, will be ludicrous among these stirring topics of our own day. But we do not see how the new Ministry, circumstanced as it is, is to shape its policy into such a national form as to attract the support—we will not say of a majority, but even of a respectable minority. If it adhere to Protection, pure and simple, it is foredoomed; if it abandon Protection, what else can it take up? And yet it must take up something, or sink among the needless pageantries of trading politics, and so fulfil the solemn vaticination of the seer and the poet, Lord John Manners, by being the last of Conservative Ministries.

Next week, Ministers will have to face Parliament in this unprepared and incapable condition; even the brief recess has sufficed to develop a Ministerial crisis which threatens their existence. The fear of imminent extinction may bring their own friends to reason, and supersede the crisis for a time; but how can that survive long which is threatening to expire in the very cradle, "during the month"?

THE PARLIAMENTARY REFORMERS AND THE OBSTRUCTIVES.

THE late Reform Conference, as we said last week, sought to make clear the national width of its suffrage claim, and in this it succeeded. All objections made to the narrowness of its programme at the public meeting, and in democratic journals which have since come under our notice, have been founded upon overlooking, or not fully appreciating, this avowal of the Conference.

Can it be true, as we so often hear from excellent reformers, that appeals to the people in a generous spirit meet with no corresponding response? We would not that a declaration so sad should be true. We rather think that the conclusion taken by the party who at the Conference public meeting supported the amendment upon Home Suffrage was foregone. They came to the Conference with their angry prepossessions, and did not feel the force, or understand the nature, or trust the frankness of the explanations offered to them. The creation of a cordial feeling will be a work of more time; the explanation must be oft reiterated, in good faith and in good temper—reiterated so plainly that it must be understood, so cordially that it must be accepted. To this end we will restate the point as we understood it.

Lord John Russell's parting words the other night to the House of Commons he had ceased to lead, were to the effect that he would support the extension of the franchise to such as are fit to exercise it. This is a form of expression which will have great weight, and deserves to have great weight—as all concessions of the suffrage must turn upon it. The doctrine of fitness must receive special attention—must become an object of political study. The Reform Conference thought so: it unhesitatingly announced its own definition, and said broadly, that the real fitness wanted consisted in intelligence, honesty, and independence, on the part of electors. But how is this fitness to be ascertained? That is the

practical point. Shall we examine conduct, and inquire into character—if so, who are to be the judges? Shall education be the standard—if so, who can agree about the test? Shall manhood be the sign of fitness—then, what is manhood, and where shall we find its definition that all parties will accept? And if manhood is named, what shall we do with those who go further? Even the *Westminster Review* might ask why womanhood was overlooked? To look in these directions is not to settle the question. We only open never-ending debates; and if we persist in their discussion, a generation more will go down to the grave without the franchise, while philosophical patriots are settling the conditions of its exercise.

Practical politicians have instinctively turned to the qualification of property as the test of fitness—not as being *the* test, but as being that which most persons understand and agree about. Lord John Russell, with true Whiggish timidity, lays down the doctrine that "fitness" exists with those only who can pay a rate-rent of 5*l.* in towns, of 20*l.* in the country, or 40*s.* of assessed taxes. Another party, a little more courageous, venture to suppose that this quality may possibly be found with those who pay poor-rates. The National Parliamentary and Financial Reform Association take a bold sweep, and declare at once their conviction that honesty, independence, and intelligence (the true fitness), may dwell with all who pay rates directly or indirectly; in short, that all who have a home ought to have a vote; that every householder and every lodger who may take the trouble to place his name on the parish register shall become thereby an elector. It is very likely, also, that the Bill they will draw up will prescribe only six months' residence as a qualification.

This Home-Suffrage includes so large a portion of the nation—all who have steady habits and common national interests—that the portion not included may easily find their way to its exercise; for if so large a mass of electors as Home-Suffrage would create, could not improve the condition of the houseless and the wanderer, no form of legislation will help *them*—and the vagabond classes will not regret the loss of a vote which, in *such case*, cannot serve them. Indeed, the Home-Suffrage, with six months' residence, will place this country on a level with America in the respect of electoral power.

The Chartists who put up an amendment at the Conference Public Meeting, wilfully ignored the large electoral power they were rejecting. Every man in that meeting would have been enfranchised by Home-Suffrage. To become obstructives towards those who propose to get so much is insanity. If every man is to have his own way in all respects, nothing will ever be done. Progress proceeds by measured and unanimous steps, and to effect unanimity a common point of agreement must be set up. As such, Home-Suffrage was adopted by the Conference. Objectors denounced it as "expediency:" overlooking that a wise sense of expediency is the measure of political wisdom. Many persons regard the Charter as a narrow and confined measure compared with what ought to be demanded by intelligent men. These persons might with as much reason denounce Chartist as expediency: yet if every man who goes beyond the Chartists should move amendments at their meetings, Chartists would never be able to hold another meeting without having its efficiency destroyed by the appearance of division.

Judging from the distrust some speakers expressed at the Conference Meetings, there is no ground to believe that the Reform party, however far they might go, would gain anything with the demagogues of the obstructive school. If the middle class went for the Charter, Mr. Jones would declare that they intended to betray it. The Reform party must therefore make up their minds to stand by their own cause, and their own definition of it; let them appeal to the good sense, and the practical sense of the working-classes; let them labour to satisfy the scruples of those above, and meet resolutely and emphatically the objections and obstructions of the suspicious below, and the great body of the nation will be with them, and a substantial measure of reform will be won for the people from those who now garrison the citadel of political corruption. There will always be some brawlers whom nothing will satisfy; but those who will propose a large practical good, and pursue it strongly,

will, sooner or later, have the good sense of the nation with them.

As to "fitness" for the franchise, we must say, that if the active politicians of the working classes submit to such guidance as that exhibited at the late Reform meeting—if they will lend themselves to discredit all who work in the same direction as themselves—if they are to be rabidly intolerant of all who do not pronounce the Shibboleth of the Charter—if they are to deny the right of private judgment to all who think it unwise to demand of the Government a great deal more than they can get at first—if they will hoot down by frantic cries all who would reason with them, they will play into the hands of the common enemy—they will justify Lord John Russell in denying the universal fitness of the people for the suffrage; they will do as they did in the Anti-Corn-Law League days—they will make Chartism the by-word of practical politicians, and will alienate from them all who, desiring the enfranchisement of the whole people, seek to act with the working classes in their public meetings.

THE PIONEER CHURCH OF THE COLONIES.

Act upon the mother-country through the colonies in matters relating to the Church, is a maxim which has been fully understood and ably employed by the party which would revive synodical action. When Mr. Gladstone was in the Colonial Office, he exerted his high abilities and official influence in furtherance of the policy included in that maxim; and the affairs of the Colonial Church have so far advanced towards the issues anticipated, concurrently with the organization of the party at home, that we were able, last week, to lay before our readers a bill introduced by Mr. Gladstone into Parliament, which, if passed, will authorize the establishment of synods in Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward's Island, Cape of Good Hope, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Van Diemen's Land, and Western Australia. Hence, speeches in Parliament apart, we may conclude, that in the judgment of Mr. Gladstone and his friends, the question in the Colonial Church is ripe for solution; and he has attempted to solve it accordingly.

Most admirably has he performed his task. The form of the bill itself is a model of simplicity, clearness, and brevity. The position of the Church in the Colonies is accurately defined, and no reasonable person could take exception to the jurisdiction conferred on the assembly or convocation proposed to be established, since that jurisdiction is confined strictly to the avowed members of the Church, and is not armed with any authority for inflicting temporal pains or penalties. The principle of the bill, as simple as its provisions, is the right of the Church to regulate its internal affairs; a principle which cannot be disputed, except on grounds of doubtful political expediency, on which no honest Churchman or Statesman can sincerely rely. The provisions of the measure, in close accordance with its principle, are intended only to secure the exercise of the right, subject to certain necessary and just restrictions. No demand is made on the State to devise remedies for Church grievances; that the Church rightly contends is its own special and proper function. This is a logical consequence of the policy so clearly laid down and so strenuously advocated in the admirable reports of the London Union in Church matters, to which we have so often had occasion to advert in this journal.

The question has now assumed its proper proportions. The far-seeing policy which dictated the plan of operating on England through her colonies is bearing fruit. Expressed in the simple language of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, the justice of the demand for synodical action is brought home to every earnest and thoughtful man. And if the measure proposed be so obviously just and necessary as applied to the Colonial Church, how much more so as applicable to the Church at home?

For the credit of the honest men whose cause we have independently but consistently advocated, we are proud to remark, that the accession of Lord Derby to office has not tempted them from their strong position, as temperate but resolute assertors of the right of the Church to the management of its own affairs. They will not become mere politicians, especially party politicians. This is taking high ground. Their cry is, "Give us our Synods, and we will do ourselves what it is need-



ful should be done." And so long as they maintain this position,—so long as they abstain from political intrigues, and from basing expectations on political combinations,—so long as they demand their rights as Churchmen, and abstain from seeking temporal as well as spiritual dominion,—so long, and *no longer*, will they gradually and victoriously advance towards the goal they aim at, until, in the fulness of time, they attain it, and with it, its immense responsibilities. Convocation cannot be much longer denied. There is a righteousness in the demand which will ensure its success. The best and the bravest, the most upright and consistent Churchmen, are among its champions; and it is the intrinsic honesty of their cause which commends it to our advocacy. Here we take our stand, and to this point we limit our exertions. We will not tolerate, for one moment, any attempt to set up an ecclesiastical tyranny. There must be equal recognition of all sects and persuasions, and the rights accorded to the Church must be equally accorded to all. And we venture to predict, that if in the hour of success the High Church party attempt to transgress the limits which they have themselves laid down in the reports of the London Church Union, and which we have from time to time favourably cited in our columns, the moment they grasp at secular, as well as spiritual power, that moment will be the signal for their downfall and destruction. It is necessary for us to state this distinctly. Yet are we bound in fairness to state also, that at present we see no signs of any such attempts, and that we are willing to accept the word of honest and serious men as a sufficient guarantee for their future conduct.

Our own views on this subject we have stated many times. We believe that no truly religious development can take place, unless liberty be given for all to work out what is in them, free from temporal State restrictions; it is on the broad ground of equal recognition for all, equal defence by each of the rights common to all,—the ground we took on opening this question—that we claim for the Church the right and the liberty to show herself honest, and to do what she can for the benefit of mankind. But what we claim for her, we claim for *All*.

ROEBUCK AND COPPOCK.

WHY was there such a shout of satisfaction at Mr. James Coppock's exposure of Mr. Roebuck? Why is it felt that no reply can "explain away" Mr. Roebuck's false position? Because the Member for Sheffield is a purist who has been harsh in his construction of others; because he is one of the shining lights of a utilitarian school relentless towards the frail; and thus the public is pleased to see him pilloried as it is when a prude is detected in a peccadillo.

The facts as he puts them in his rejoinder to Mr. Coppock are by no means incredible. He had declared that "he for one had had nothing to do with Mr. Coppock in any one of his elections, and that Mr. Coppock would never have *dared* to come where he was a candidate pretending to be on his side." These assertions, as they stand in the report of the *Times*, prove to be the very reverse of the fact: Mr. Coppock *had* dared to come where Mr. Roebuck was a candidate, namely, at Bath, in 1841; had not only pretended, but had acted on Mr. Roebuck's side; and *had done so by Mr. Roebuck's invitation!* Mr. Coppock produces a letter by Mr. Roebuck, disclosing the state of election matters in Bath, and urging his correspondent to come down to manage the co-operation of the Whigs with the Radicals, and especially to speak to six "wilful, vain fools," three entitled "Mr. —," and three "Dr. —," whose impracticability evidently occasioned much disquiet to the Bath Cato. Coppock did go down to the rescue, with Lord Duncan—and is now contumeliously disclaimed.

Mr. Roebuck's explanation is, that he had "totally forgotten the correspondence relative to the Bath election of 1841;" and we heartily believe that he did forget, in spite of appearances. The suggestion to Mr. Coppock, indeed, that he should come down secretly—"incog., mind"—is an awkward accompaniment to the subsequent disclaimer. But appearances are of little force against character, and the very defects of Roebuck's character help to explain the awkward oblivion. He commonly fastens upon one view of a subject, and forgets everything but what is seen from that view. In May, 1841, the idea was to get in for Bath, with "a Whig, and some-

thing more;" in 1852, the idea was, to denounce corrupt election: now there is no belief that Roebuck had anything to do with corrupt election; for the nonce he was regarding Coppock as the impersonation of the St. Albans system, and *that* was the thing he was disclaiming; Bath belonging to a category of ideas totally out of his field of view at the moment.

The fact remains, that Mr. Roebuck has profited by the aid of the contemned Coppock—has solicited that aid—has suggested that it should be given "incog.;" the fact remains that that money for his expenses had passed through the hands of Coppock; the fact remains that the "*chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*," as he implies himself to be, stood in fear of failure, and invited the complicity of the Whigs "to keep out the Tories." He now claims and deserves liberal constructions; but what liberal constructions did he allow to the members whom he charged with sitting by purchase, in that dramatic scene with which he startled the Commons out of its monotony, and which led to the Corrupt Elections Committee? Those members now laugh to see Mr. Roebuck admitting the main facts which he vainly endeavours to explain away, and obliged, after all, to fall back upon the good construction of gentlemen.

Mr. Roebuck is a stern patriot, a realist in politics, a philosophical Radical: what business, then, had he in getting up alliances with the Whigs to manoeuvre the representation of a city? What business had he to join in the canting pretence of "keeping out the Tories"—that wretched pretext which has kept in office the most inefficient ministry of England's history? Why does he now speak as if it were less discreditable to deal with a Whig secretary when negotiating, than with the agent of that secretary in the same affair? Surely the difference of rank makes no difference in the act.

A really independent member could have had no legitimate vocation in such a work, but still we will extend to the embarrassed truth-teller the liberal construction which he is so slow to give. He may have thought it so desirable for Bath to retain its Radical member, that it might also consent to have that patriotic Whig who has triumphed over the window-tax; and we think that it was desirable. But it was not desirable that an independent member should commingle with Treasury manoeuvres to dispose of seats: it was not desirable that the stern critic of other men's morals should fall in with a plan which drives so much of England to seek its representation through a Coppock. A man has no right to assume the office of censor, while dallying with the instruments of that which he censures. But in his own untoward position, perhaps the historian of the Whigs may learn a great lesson—that men of the purest intentions and highest ambition may be betrayed into equivocal courses. We will not say, therefore, that he has forfeited the self-appointed office of censor; but we will express a hope that, strengthened by this adversity, he will have outgrown that office. There is yet work for so able and truly honest a man to do, if he could only awake to the truth, that ability is not linked even to a Sheffield Cato—that honesty is not attested by harsh constructions—that true chivalry looks to the spirit rather than to the letter of any law, and that true patriotism should promote a brotherhood of action among the best men of a country, rather than an isolated exaltation for no purpose more practical than that of parading talent in a general onslaught of disparaging criticism.

AN IRISH AMNESTY.

A MOVEMENT is going on in America and in Ireland which attracts very inadequate attention in this country—a popular effort to obtain a free pardon for the political exiles who shared in the insurrection of Smith O'Brien, and in his punishment. The feeling that dictates this movement in the two countries is somewhat different; but in both it deserves respect.

In Ireland the feeling is, that the exiles have undergone punishment enough for anything but revenge. Even their friends now acknowledge that their attempts at insurrection were indiscriminate; even their enemies admit that the disorder was a natural product of the long misrule to which Ireland has been subjected, which lent to government the prestige neither of affection nor reason, and which still subordinates justice to expediency. The days of violence in Ireland are

passed; the reverses of the patriots have crushed the hopes of triumph by force. The famine and its concomitants have left no strength for any insurgent schemes. Ireland is subdued by the heavy hand of fate. There remains for her to be subdued by generosity—an appeal to which the Irish are peculiarly amenable, both by their nature and by the fact that, in regard to that emotion, Ireland is still the virgin handmaid of England.

In America the feeling is more complex. It is well known that the vast proportion of the immense emigration from Ireland is directed to the United States. By that long-continued process, the republic is rapidly and steadily acquiring a large Celtic element. One town, Boston, has been virtually abandoned to the Irish; the true Americans retreating to the suburbs. The "native American" movement attested the growing strength of the element which it was designed to check. Considerable changes, however, are observed to have come over the Irish mind in America. In the first place, it is a remarkable fact, which we note without attempting to explain it, that the children of Irish immigrants for the most part become Protestants. Another remark, in the truth of which we have much faith, is, that the anti-British feeling which especially distinguished the Irish citizens of the Union has materially abated, and is giving place to an impression that if the English people were better understood, it would be better both for Ireland and England. Americans as well as Irish are beginning to draw the requisite distinction between Downing-street and England. But the inclination to a closer alliance with England unquestionably awaits some proof that England is disposed to act with generosity towards the sister community.

Now, we have never extenuated the conduct of the Irish insurgents, nor upheld their claim to leniency. We believed their rebellion to be a miscalculation, criminal, because the elements of success had not been secured—because the people were hurried into a conflict which could not but end in failure. We have declared our conviction that men who brave the laws, must count upon incurring the consequences of failure, and have no right to beg off. But the past has gone by, and is cut off from the present by the terrible changes in Ireland to which we have alluded. Even the recent change of Government in this country contributes to the severance of the past from the present. Meanwhile, as to the wishes of the Irish majority, and of very great numbers in America, there can be no doubt. It has not been usual, of late years, to conduct public affairs on a principle of generosity; it is thought more "practical" to stick to harsh utilitarian calculations. France detains Abd-el-Kader, and "England,"—that is, Downing-street—temporizes with Louis Napoleon; but the results are not quite happy. The Governments which act on that mean spirit do not possess the moral influence which is attained by a more courageous generosity. We have the strongest faith in such an influence, though not in its appreciation by a Whig Government. The Whig Government, however, is numbered with the errors of the past; and we have a right to expect a more generous régime, if it were only because we cannot expect a less generous one. We daily look out for signs, too, that the Government of the Empire has reverted to some regard for national feelings, and some ambition to lead the nation, rather than to treat Government merely as an affair of police. In such hope we cannot help desiring that a generous trust in the Irish people, and an express deference for the wishes of the American people, could induce our Government to grant the desired boon, by extending to the Irish exiles, freely and without stint, a national forgiveness.

Many discreet and judicious politicians might think it desirable to accompany the gift with a condition, that men who have shown so little scruple in exciting the passions of a people, should not return to Ireland; but we do not think that such a condition would be desirable. In the first place, it would not be necessary. Thrice decimated, as the manhood of Ireland has been, by the famine, the pestilence, and the emigration,—dispirited, enfeebled, crushed,—conditions against that country at this day would be needless—a mockery of her weakness. Conditions, too, take from a boon half its value. Probably the men who have expended so much of their youthful fire in a disastrous mistake, would not return to the scene of their error, but would

seek in America the natural refuge of their family; or if they did return, they would more probably redeem their good fame in peaceful avocations for which their abilities fit them; but in any case, England ought neither to fear them, nor bestow a grudging boon. It should be given fully and freely, out of the magnanimity of strength, for kindness to Ireland, and in friendly deference to the wishes of the ally peace-maker—America.

ANARCHY FROM AN "UNKNOWN TONGUE."

On the eve of parliamentary inquiries and debates on the East India Company's government of India, and on the question of the renewal of their Charter, a frightful exposure of a long-continued system of corruption, bribery, plunder of the public funds, and oppression of the peasantry, has been made in the Madras Presidency, which we trust will not escape the notice of those of our legislators who espouse the cause of the native population. A mere outline of the facts which have as yet come to light during the inquiry now in progress will be sufficient to indicate the nature of the evil and its causes. Mr. Richard Tindal Porter had been fifteen years in the Madras civil service, when he was appointed, in 1842, collector of revenue and magistrate of the zillah, or district, of Masulipatam, an office of great importance, the collector being, in fact, the supreme executive and administrative officer of his zillah, responsible only to the Government at the Presidency. Mr. Porter's previous experience had been gathered entirely in districts where the Tamil language is spoken; nearly the whole of his service, indeed, having been passed at Madras, as Secretary to the Board of Revenue. In the Masulipatam zillah, no language is spoken but Teloogoo, which is as distinct from Tamil as Norwegian is from Spanish. But in distributing appointments to the English civilians, the governors of India pay no regard to such trifles, and naturally the officials themselves are not more scrupulous than their superiors. And so Mr. Porter went to take charge of his district, without being at all acquainted with the language of its inhabitants. He was there for nine years, and at this moment he can neither speak nor write Teloogoo. But what did it matter? The Sheristadar, or chief native officer of revenue and police, was a delightful man, quite a master of English, and took the entire work in every department so entirely into his own hands, that Mr. Porter, the representative of British justice and purity, enjoyed life without care or anxiety, and remained in a state of blissful ignorance, while the police, for the purpose of extorting "black mail," got up hundreds of cases against men innocent of crime; and while the revenue officers extorted from the farmers and shopkeepers, on various illegal pretences, money which never found its way into the public treasury. The people, poor dumb wretches, never *audibly* complained. They petitioned now and then, particularly at first; but the force of their prayers always evaporated in the translation. At length, a wholesale deficiency in one item of the revenue, and the accidental interception of a large bribe, sent to induce a native official to "make things pleasant" a little while longer, broke the spell, and inquiries were instituted. Two civilians of rank, Mr. Lushington and Mr. Bird, were sent as commissioners to the district, and every day fresh enormities were disclosed. One fact will give some faint idea of what the administration of this district must have been: it has been proved before the commission of inquiry, that within the last few years the people have emigrated by thousands into the Nizam's dominions; unable to endure the extortion and tyranny of the British rule, they fled for shelter to the territories of that prince who will some day, perhaps very shortly, be deposed by the Honourable Company for ignorance of the science of government.

Mr. Porter is now under suspension at Madras: there is not the least ground for a charge of corruption against him. But if we admit his freedom from dishonesty, how absolute appears to have been his supine inactivity! Could he not learn a language in nine years? Had he been able to read a Teloogoo petition, or to listen to a statement of grievances—had he cared to go abroad amongst the inhabitants of his district—the miseries of the people, the crimes of his subordinates, his own disgrace, perhaps ruin, might all have been avoided. Day by day the

elements of prosperity were escaping under his very eye. The revenue declined, wealth vanished, industry decayed, and at last the population disappeared. They fled from the rule of a man who is described as honourable, amiable, and gifted with good natural abilities. Placed in situations for which his acquirements rendered him fit, Mr. Porter had formerly, and, doubtless, would have still, performed his duties with credit to himself and advantage to the public; but by the deplorable mismanagement of the Madras Government, the clever man was made a helpless tool, and the benevolent man was made to play the part of a tyrant and an extorter.

We need make no remark on the stupid carelessness of sending a man to govern a district with the language of which he is unacquainted. There is something wrong, too, in the absence of all stimulus to exertion and improvement, caused by the monopoly of the most lucrative offices enjoyed by the "covenanted" civil service, appointments to which are made by seniority, without regard to qualifications or merit. The first of these defects admits of immediate abolition; the second need not wait long for a remedy, and any improvement is a great gain. But the root of the evil does not lie in either of them, although they have in this case proved the exciting cause. There are other public officers as unsuitably placed as Mr. Porter was, and we cannot avoid fearing that some other districts may be as misgoverned; but it is well known that the Indian civil service contains a large proportion of accomplished and energetic men, and that they perform their arduous duties in a highly efficient manner. But they all acknowledge that a system of corruption and perjury pervades every branch of the public service, which they find it impossible to destroy, and very difficult to check. The people, degraded by a thousand years of changing slavery and permanent superstition, have no regard to private truth or personal honour, while anything that can be called public opinion does not exist. The natives make but little use of the free press—that strange anomaly under a despotic and alien rule—and the few newspapers in the Indian languages only circulate among the richer classes at the three Presidencies, and seldom contain original matter. Although some honourable and well-paid offices, in both the judicial and revenue departments, are filled by natives, yet none of the higher appointments are open to them, and they are in no manner admitted to take part in the real government of the country. Can nothing be done to render them fit for a share in the work which is now done entirely by Englishmen? Why should there not be a municipal council in every zillah, were it only for consultation and for the information of the collector, elected by the inhabitants, and, as far as possible, independent of Government influence? Would it not prove to the people that at least the proceedings of the Government were fair, and above-board, and open to inquiry and inspection? Would it not prevent the possibility of such horrors as we have described being carried on for a series of years without any complaint being heard? Would it not open a career to the best men of the country, and tend to raise the self-respect of all?

CONFEDERATION OF POPULAR INSTITUTES.

THREE schemes, tending concurrently towards the same end, the recognition and adoption of the principle of Concert, are before the public.

First, we observe that there is a call for the development of the Government Schools of Design, by the gentlemen who have superintended the practical working of those institutions, and who complain of the insufficiency of the means and appliances at their disposal to meet the demands made upon them by the public, for instruction. The appointment of Mr. Henry Cole to the department of what is called Practical Art, points to a more comprehensive organization than has hitherto been attempted, and is, of itself, suggestive of vast improvements in that direction.

The next is the proposition lately made to consolidate the Mechanics' Institutions throughout the country, and place them under the direction of the Society of Arts. If the adoption of this proposition would impart unity and vigour to those unsatisfactory media for amusing and instructing the working class, it would be very beneficial; as it has already proved in the

consolidation of the Mechanics' Institutions in Yorkshire. There is a certain taking air about the proposal which will be seductive to many, but, regardless of that, and without expressing any opinion whatever on the utility of the scheme, we may cite it as an involuntary testimony to the unconscious tendency of the time towards concert in endeavour after public advantages.

The third scheme is far vaster and more novel among us than either of the others, but it illustrates the same fact. It is sketched out in a pamphlet, printed for private circulation, and entitled *Notes on the Organization of an Industrial College for Artisans*. The writer has studied the subject for many years, both in England and on the Continent. He proposes to establish a college wherein artisans may graduate in their respective trades, and take degrees for proficiency both in theoretical knowledge and manual skill. He would have it governed autocratically by a rector, and officered by working professors, the students to be under strict discipline. We purposely refrain from entering on details which, in the present stage, are far from mature, though sufficiently advanced for discussion. There is much to be said on both sides. Meanwhile, the value of this, as of the other schemes, for us, is the evidence it affords of the truth of our views on the great question of social reform: being an involuntary admission of the superiority of organized and trained labour, and of the advantages of Concert.

SOCIAL REFORM.

A NEW SOLUTION OF THE SOCIAL PROBLEM.

AMERICAN writers are commonly such lovers of hyperbole, that you would suppose there was some democratic law against soberness of speech, or that it was regarded on the other side the Atlantic as a want of patriotism to observe moderation. To *aspire* after Perfection is not enough: your genuine American theorist reaches that point—nay, he does more—he turns the corner—he is considerably "ahead" of Perfection itself. It is, therefore, presumptive evidence that something of practical value has been discovered when an author in New York announces, in temperate language, that he has found out the means of solving the social problem that so perplexes the wisest heads.

Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews makes a revelation of this kind to the public. Some months ago, I acknowledged the receipt from Mr. Andrews of two volumes, in which he states his case to the American public. The first publication is upon the *Constitution of Government*. The second is entitled, *Cost, the Limit of Price*; and these words, indeed, constitute the formula in which the discovery is expressed. *Cost, the Limit of Price*, is the "great" principle on which, in Mr. Andrews' opinion, a new world might, with advantage, turn.

Mr. Josiah Warren, formerly of Cincinnati, recently a resident of Indiana, is the person said to be entitled to the honour of discovering this principle, of which Mr. Andrews is the ardent expounder. Twenty-four years of continuous experiments have been made by Mr. Warren in working out this principle and its consequences. The "practical details" for the realization of the *Cost principle* are not yet before the public, and what the scheme is, as applied to the education of a family, to social intercourse, and the complex affairs of a village and town, (a town, we are told, has grown up under its influence,) we are not yet aware. The work, we believe, is not yet published. The experiences of "Trialville," the modest name under which Mr. Andrews speaks of this new experimental Community, will be awaited with interest by Social Reformers.

Beyond the short notice of this societarian discovery, which appeared in this journal at the time previously referred to, no account, I believe, has been published in England. A casual mention was made of the appearance of Mr. Andrews' works in the American article of the last *Westminster Review*. It is not possible to condense in this place so much of the exposition as will give a just idea of this new scheme of "Equitable Commerce," as understood by its originator and expounder. For that we must refer the reader to the works themselves, which Mr. Chapman has, or is about to import.

Mr. Andrews says:—

"The counter principle to that of 'Cost, the limit of price,' upon which all ownership is now maintained, and all commerce transacted in the world, is that 'Value is the limit of price,' or, as the principle is gene-

rally stated in the cant language of trade, 'A thing is worth what it will bring.' Between these two principles, so similar that the difference in the statement would hardly attract a moment's attention, unless it were specially insisted upon, lies the essential difference between the whole system of civilized cannibalism by which the masses of human beings are mercilessly ground to powder for the accumulation of the wealth of the few, on the one hand, and on the other, the reign of equity, the just remuneration of labour, and the independence and elevation of all mankind.

"There is nothing apparently more innocent, harmless, and equitable in the world, than the statement that a 'thing should bring what it is worth'; and yet even that statement covers the most subtle fallacy which it has ever been given to human genius to detect and expose—a fallacy more fruitful of evil than any other which the human intellect has ever been beclouded by. ***

"The term 'Equitable Commerce' does not signify merely a new adjustment of the method of buying and selling. The term is employed by Mr. Warren to signify the whole of what I have preferred to denominate the Science of Society, including Ethics, Political Economy, and all else that concerns the outer relations of mankind. At the same time, the mutual interchange of products is, as it were, the continent or basis upon which all other intercourse rests. Society declines upon Industry. Without it man cannot exist. Other things may be of higher import, but it is of primary necessity. Solitary industry does not supply the wants of the individual. Hence trade, or the exchange of products. With trade, intercourse begins. It is the first in order of the long train of benefits which mankind mutually minister to each other. The term 'commerce' is sometimes synonymous with trade or traffic; and at other times it is used in a more comprehensive sense. For that reason it has a double appropriateness to the subjects under consideration. It is employed, therefore, in the phrase 'Equitable Commerce,' to signify, *first*, Commerce in the minor sense, as synonymous with 'trade'; and, *secondly*, Commerce in the major sense, as synonymous with the old English signification of the word, 'conversation,' i.e., human intercourse of all sorts—the concrete, or *tout ensemble*, of human relations. *** *

"According to Mr. Warren, the following is THE PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED in all its several branches:

"1. 'The proper, legitimate, and just reward of labour.'

"2. 'Security of person and property.'

"3. 'The greatest practicable amount of freedom to each individual.'

"4. 'Economy in the production and uses of wealth.'

"5. 'To open the way to each individual for the possession of land, and all other natural wealth.'

"6. 'To make the interests of all to co-operate with and assist each other, instead of clashing with and countering each other.'

"7. 'To withdraw the elements of discord, of war, of distrust, and repulsion, and to establish a prevailing spirit of peace, order, and social sympathy.'

"And according to him, also, the following PRINCIPLES are the means of the solution:

"I. 'INDIVIDUALITY.'

"II. 'THE SOVEREIGNTY OF EACH INDIVIDUAL.'

"III. 'COST, THE LIMIT OF PRICE.'

"IV. 'A CIRCULATING MEDIUM, FOUNDED ON THE COST OF LABOUR.'

"V. 'ADAPTATION OF THE SUPPLY TO THE DEMAND.'

Mr. Andrews observes that—

"The mere reading of this programme will suggest the immensity of the scope to which the subject extends. In the present volume I have selected a single principle—the third among those above named—and shall adhere to a pretty thorough exposition of it, rather than overload the mind of the reader by bringing into view the whole of a system, covering all possible human relations. A few minds may, from the mere statement of these principles, begin to perceive the rounded outlines of what is, as I do not hesitate to affirm, the most complete scientific statement of the problem of human society, and of the fundamental principles of social science, which has ever been presented to the world. Most, however, will hardly begin to understand the universal and all-pervading potency of these few simple principles, until they find them elaborately displayed and elucidated. At present I take the broad licence of asserting that they are UNIVERSAL PRINCIPLES."

As an example of the vivacity with which Mr. Andrews illustrates these principles, two instances will interest the English reader. Speaking of the principle—"Adaptation of the Supply to the Demand"—Mr. Andrews adds:

"This seems to be a formula relating merely, as, in

fact, it does relate mainly, to ordinary commerce—trade—commerce in the minor sense. In that sense, it expresses an immense want of civilized society—nothing less, as Carlyle has it, than a knowledge of the way of getting the supernumerary shirts into contact with the backs of the men who have none. But this same principle introduced into the parlour, becomes likewise the regulator of politeness and good manners, and pertains, therefore, to commerce in the major sense as well. I am, for example, overflowing with immoderate zeal for the principles which I am now discussing. I broach them on every occasion. I seize every man by the button-hole, and inflict on him a lecture on the beauties of Equitable Commerce; in fine, I make myself a universal bore, as every reformer is likely to be, more or less. But at the moment some urbane and conservative old gentleman politely observes to me, 'Sir, I perceive one of your principles is, "The Adaptation of the Supply to the Demand." ' I take the hint immediately. My mouth is closed. I perceive that my lecture is not wanted—that he does not care to interest himself in the subject. There is no demand, and I stop the supply.

"But you are ready to say, Would not the same hint given in some other form, stop the impertinence of over-zealous advocacy in any case? Let those answer who have been bored. But suppose it did, could it be done so gracefully, in any way, as by referring the offender to one of the very principles he is advocating, or which he professes? Again: grant that it have the effect to stop that annoyance, the hint itself is taken as an offence, and the offended man, instead of continuing the conversation upon some other subject that might be agreeable, goes off in a huff, and most probably you have made him an enemy for life. But, in my case, it will not even be necessary for the conservative old gentleman to remind me—I shall at once recollect that another of my principles is, 'THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.' One of the highest exercises of that sovereignty is the choice of the subjects about which one will converse, and upon which he will bestow his time—hence I recognise cordially his right to exclude my subject, and immediately, and good-humouredly, I glide off upon some other topic. Then, by a law of the human mind, which it is extremely important to understand, and practically to observe, if it be possible that there should ever arise a demand with him to hear anything about that subject, my uniform deference for even his prejudices will hasten the time. Indeed, all conservative old gentlemen, who hate reform of all sorts as they do ratsbane, would do well to make themselves at once familiar with these principles, and to disseminate them as the means of defending themselves. Do you begin to perceive that such a mere tradesman-like formula, at first blush, as 'THE ADAPTATION OF THE SUPPLY TO THE DEMAND,' becomes one of the highest regulators of good manners—a part of the ethics of conversation—of the 'Equitable Commerce' of gentlemanly intercourse—as well as what it seems to be, an important element of trade; and do you catch a glimpse of what I mean, when I say that it is a *universal* principle of commerce in the major sense?"

Those who read thus far, will be of opinion that Mr. Andrews is a superior theorist, whose expositions are worth attention. He seldom falls into the discoverer's sin of exaggeration, without a qualifying remark which announces his consciousness of it, and which becomes a guarantee that it has its limits. The disbeliever in the new theory is not only endured by Mr. Andrews, but his prejudices are respected, and he is reasoned with—a much more efficient mode of winning him, than the most philanthropic abuse the impatient advocate of progress could heap upon him. Mr. Andrews' style is clear and substantial—perspicuous without prolixity, and brief without transcendental inuendoes. Of the "Cost Principle," we must know more before expressing any decided judgment about it. It has this advantage over many others—namely, that the world need not be swept clean before it is introduced. It can commence as we are, and renovate as it proceeds. Yet, without experience, no discovery can be adequately judged. "Nothing tortures history," said Guizot, wisely, "like logic;" and the same may be said of theories. We take an attractive theory and *deduce* from it all legitimate conclusions, and then proudly exclaim: "There is a transcript of the old world under the new system!" All this would be very well if society was a syllogism in which all the legitimate conclusions implied in its major premise could be evolved. But we know differently. We must take the world as we find it, with its passion-storms, its turbulent interests, and its immense passive resistance to intellect, in the shape of stolid ignorance. Logic is, no doubt, the leaven

which will leaven all one day—but the difference between all being leavened in theory, and leavened in practice, must make us pause—moderate our expectations, and qualify our predictions.

Lox.

NOTES ON WAR.

BY A SOLDIER.

NO. VI.—CAVALRY, AND CONCLUSION.

THE two most expensive branches of a regular army, cavalry and artillery, make a much grander and more imposing appearance, and commonly cause much greater consternation, than their real destructive value warrants.

The rapidity of movement, the sweeping headlong charge, the clatter, and jingle, and thundering tread of cavalry, have always proved extremely efficacious in producing panic and disorder among inexperienced troops. But if infantry soldiers were properly armed, trained, and instructed on principles which would appeal to each man's intelligence, and by which the value of each hostile force to be overcome, and the mode to overcome it, were explained and made apparent, much of this unreasonable and unfounded want of confidence in their power of successfully resisting and destroying cavalry would disappear.

In as few words as possible I will attempt to give an idea of what is to be feared from cavalry by a National army, (consisting, as before stated, of one-fourth riflemen, and three-fourths armed with swords and shields and pikes,) and also how cavalry attacks are to be resisted and retaliated.

And I must begin by laying down as an axiom, that the sole danger of cavalry consists in their charge; and to this I would call particular attention. The charge of cavalry avoided, overcome, or anticipated, the whole danger is past, and the horses and their riders may be cut to pieces and taken prisoners with the most perfect certainty by determined swordsmen on foot. Of course, some part of a discomfited body of cavalry may gallop away, form again, and try a second attack, if they are inclined. But a squadron of cavalry at a walk, or stationary, or anything but galloping straight at its opponents, is the most imbecile of military bodies, and cannot withstand a close combat of well-armed foot soldiers. With muskets and bayonets, it is true, little could be done in that or any other species of close fighting, but swordsmen of the right sort would never fail.

The charge at the gallop of good cavalry is certainly a most formidable species of attack. Horsemen are very dangerous as long as they are permitted to have it all their own way. But they must not be permitted to have it all their own way. Definite rules cannot be laid down for every case that may occur, but take the following as an illustration of what is meant.

Let us imagine a regiment of cavalry preparing to charge down a street to clear it of a force of foot-soldiers: now instead of remaining in the open road to be galloped over and sabred, or even attempting to form some stationary defensive position, such as a square—which, whether the men are armed with muskets and bayonets, or with pikes, I believe ought to be swept away by good cavalry—the infantry, under the direction of their leaders, as rapidly as possible, but in regular order, form in two lines with their backs to the houses, and close to the walls. What will the cavalry do then? They cannot rush with their horses' heads against the bricks or the area railings; they therefore slacken their pace, and become rather embarrassed, the steadiness and composure of both men and horses being also by no means increased by a sprinkling of bullets. Probably not many seconds will elapse before they will think of resorting to their carbines or pistols,—if so, they will not do much damage; but I should hope that no time would be given them for that. The very moment that the pace is slackened and the cavalry break into a walk, they must be attacked sword in hand, and the result would not long be doubtful. Horsemen cannot bear wounds,—the horseman's left side is the weakest, in a great measure defenceless,—if the horseman's left arm is wounded, or the reins cut, he is *hors de combat*,—all these little facts must be taught the young recruit, and the strength and weakness of cavalry explained to him.

Various modes would be adopted by the general of an army (organized as is here proposed) for keeping cavalry at a distance, and for avoiding and resisting their charges during the advance of

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his line to that close combat, which it would be his main object to bring about with as little delay as possible. When once that close combat begins, the hostile cavalry may be left to decide whether they will gallop from the field, or attempt to press into the *mélée*; they will then be incapable of executing charges, except against the reserves, which would expose them to the hazard of being completely surrounded. During the advance of the line, the general will take care that the enemy's cavalry is carefully watched, and that the attention of the officers of his probably small force of artillery is particularly directed towards them, or towards the point from which they may be expected to appear. As soon as they seem to be preparing for an attack, every available gun should be brought to bear upon them, and if rockets could be obtained, they would be very useful for this purpose. In this way it would sometimes be possible to check the advance, or throw them into disorder, but if the reception of a charge should appear inevitable, preparations must be made according to circumstances. In some cases, a movement similar to that described in the charge down a street might be practised; a row or clump of trees, a ditch, would serve the purpose as well as brick walls, and frequently there will be large spaces of ground impassable for cavalry, which would afford shelter to considerable bodies. And in some cases a battalion would perform a systematic manoeuvre of dispersion, prepared to rally again on the first opportunity. And the moment the pace is slackened—and it cannot be kept up very long, particularly with nothing to be charged in front—a rush must be made among them by a body of swordsmen, the first attack followed up, and a succession of charges in all directions made, which will soon disperse, in a confused and crest-fallen condition, those who escape being cut down or captured.

I have supposed throughout the previous observations that the national army is provided with no cavalry, or with an insufficient force to meet the enemy's horsemen. The main principles are these—that cavalry, except during their charge at the gallop, are incapable of overcoming well-armed foot-soldiers, and that in most cases it is very easy to avoid the force of the charge.

It is true that a hastily organized national force could make no long stand against regular troops, with the same method of fighting and with the same weapons. In order to produce the machine-like steadiness required for the unnatural and artificial system of tedious manoeuvres under fire and stationary shooting, it is absolutely necessary to crush the soldier's intelligence by long training and severe discipline. And this description of training and discipline, though certainly cultivating and strengthening their passive endurance, and making them superior on their own terms to undisciplined bodies, has the effect of totally sinking the individual in the mass, of destroying each man's confidence in his own courage, strength, and skill; making him rely for success on the preservation of exact order, and rendering him liable to sudden panic, and totally unfit for close fighting. To these drawbacks must be added the worthlessness of the musket and bayonet in a hand-to-hand combat, and the distracting, stupefying, stupefying, and demoralizing effects of a "well sustained" musketry fire.

I am very far from undervaluing discipline, training, and obedience; the latter quality is indispensable in any armed body; but a sufficient degree of precision in movement, and skill in handling their weapons, to enable them to conquer effectually a much larger number of regular soldiers of all arms, could be given to a national levy in three weeks. And even were armies to be furnished with the same weapons, and trained on the same plan as is here proposed, a national force would always be able to beat them.

The regular army of an established government may be actively engaged in the fiercest hostilities to gratify a sovereign's or a minister's ambition of conquest, to preserve the balance of power, or even in consequence of some diplomatic squabble, and in not one case does the army take the slightest interest in the cause of dispute. It may also sometimes be employed to quell an insurrection at home, and then the cause of dispute is known, and perhaps partially understood, but in all probability the soldiers fight rather better and with more good will against foreigners in an unknown cause, than against their fellow-countrymen, whether they secretly sympathize with their cause or totally disapprove of it. The regular

soldier's best impulses, highly respectable as far as they go, arise from habits of obedience, a sense of duty, and pride in his profession and in his particular corps.

But throughout these arguments I am always supposing that the national force would only be called into action by some spirit-stirring and ennobling cause, such as resistance to an invasion, or the liberation of a country from foreign or domestic tyranny. What would then be the peculiar advantages and good qualities possessed by such a force of volunteers over a standing army brought together for hire, or by conscription? In the first place, they would be, and more particularly in case of a just rebellion, a select body of the noblest and bravest of the country; there would be more intelligence and knowledge among them, from a greater admixture of educated men, and they would all be animated by a faith and a definite purpose, and would consequently possess a more daring courage and more complete devotion than can be ever found among a body of men who are equally ready to fight by order in any quarrel, as a mere matter of business, unintelligently and dispassionately, and without presuming to think or to inquire.

And in case of a brilliant success at the outset of a defensive or insurrectionary campaign, the physical force of superior numbers would be added to these moral advantages by the attraction of victory. The people would flock to the national standard with raised hopes, and with confidence in the plans and means of the leaders. Now undoubtedly this raw material would be rather dangerous than useful without organization, subordination, and method; but what is wanted is a system that shall turn its good qualities to account as quickly as possible, and make the most of them; that shall give the fullest scope to a roused people's generous ardour, instead of compressing it by trying to use brave men like machines. A vain trial! to put such half-wrought raw material in competition with tried and practised machinery, which by years of friction and practice has become capable of working, when confined to its own dull round, without creaking or getting out of gear. No, instead of competing with the old machinery, and trying to produce an equal effect with it at its own peculiar work, you must rush at it, and stop its work, make it creak, and put it out of gear for ever!

"To conquer or to die" is not a mere rhetorical phrase: there have been and will be times and seasons when men are ready to accept the alternative. It is a senseless and disgusting waste of human energy and courage to compel these men to make "brilliant manoeuvres"—to change front in this direction and that—to shoot and be shot at for hours together, on the chance of the enemy getting tired first, and moving off "to fight another day," leaving a few guns and wagons to make it a glorious victory. Instead of these interminable scenes of carnage and exhaustion, let us have a system founded on the natural feelings of human nature, and suitable to men to whom a just and glorious cause has given the very qualities which ensure success in a close encounter. Fighting a battle is a dangerous business; let it be got over as soon as possible. Let brave and strong men be made to take advantage of their bravery and strength, and not be placed on terms of perfect equality with a diminutive ruffian, who carries a musket for pay.

Brave men will not be intimidated and confounded by smoke and noise, or by considerable loss, when they have a clear understanding of what is expected of them and of what can be done. With numerous extended lines, fewer will fall where a less number are exposed, and where intervals exist through which many shots must pass. With rapidity of movement, united vigour in close attack, and the skilful use of efficient arms, there is no disaster to be feared from ten minutes' exposure to all the artillery and musketry that can possibly be brought into a battle-field. And men who have a faith and a purpose ought to do something more than merely parading themselves as "food for powder," and executing the daring and difficult manipulations of a ramrod and a trigger. And they will do more.

E. V.

PAPER MILLS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.—A parliamentary paper, just printed, shows that there were at work, in the United Kingdom, on the 13th of June last, 380 paper mills. Of these, 304 were in England, 28 in Ireland, and 48 in Scotland, the number of beating engines at work in English mills was 1267, and silent 107; in Scotland, 278 working and 8 silent; and in Ireland, 71 at work and 16 silent.



Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he has much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

VINDICATION OF THE PEACE POLICY.

SIR.—The other day, I received a note from one whom contributions have, before now, graced your columns, in which note occurs the following passage:—

"The *Leader* came also this morning. Did you notice some verses in it entitled 'Arm! Arm! Arm!'? I enclose you what will show my feelings theron."

I beg to subjoin a copy of the enclosure referred to, by way of antidote to the said verses; but, previous to doing so, permit me a word or two upon Mr. Thornton Hunt's defence of his war-cry, which appears in your next number.

Mr. Hunt says—"But I note that we are born with animal energies, impelling us to conquest." Yes, it may be answered; but to the conquest of what? Do not the other energies with which likewise we are born, point out that the conquest of a brother man's spirit, whereby his convictions of truth and justice are reached, so that he either agrees to co-operate with you, or, failing that, agrees to differ, is a far more noble triumph than the conquest of his body? Is it not, moreover, a far more difficult, as well as noble conquest? Is it not, indeed, an ignorant impatience of this very difficulty, which, for the most part, induces the resort to the vulgar and brutal arbitrament of the sword, which, happily, cuts the knot between you, but leaves the problem where it was; or (since the faculties which might have accomplished the task have been neglected and debased) leaves it even further from solution than before? Hath not "Peace her victories no less than War?" Assuredly, we need not cultivate our "animal energies" with a view to murdering each other, while evils, physical and moral, are rife around us, claiming our utmost energies for their conquest. The amazing thing with reference to Mr. Hunt's remarks is, that they are positively overburdened with illustrations of the thousand ways in which the said animal energies may be legitimately occupied, and so occupied to the top of their bent, while all the time he argues, from the fact of their crimp existence, that they must needs be exercised in their crime!

So much for the abstract question as to the final cause of our animal energies. The remainder of Mr. Hunt's defence of his anti-peace policy is nothing but a declamation against what he calls "the vices of peace," but which have as little necessary connexion with peace as the opposite virtues have with war; and certainly they receive as little quarter from the advocates and adherents of peace as from any other body of reformers whatever. I believe, indeed, they receive less quarter from the leading minds connected with what may be called the Peace Movement than from almost any other public men. As a matter of plain fact, I scarcely know one even among the subordinates in this cause, who is not distinguished from his fellows by his uncompromising action against one or other form of such vices; and individuals are before my thought now, whose lives have been a continued sacrifice to effort in this direction. The active minds in the cause of peace have therefore just ground of complaint that they and their principles should be identified with abuses which they repudiate. "That peace," in short, which Mr. Hunt appears truly to "hate and abhor," is no less hateful and abhorrent to them. But, that the proper and effectual antagonism to that lies, as he would inculcate, in the vain-glorious chivalry of bloody physical strife, or even in "the manly, health-breeding preparation" for it, is a proposition to which they may surely denounce without being justly chargeable either with cowardice or guilt. It is more: it is a position as abhorrent to them as are the vices it is propounded to correct. It is a hallucination so deficient of all the laws of causation, that hatred of its moral turpitude is swallowed up in astonishment of its folly.

* An allusion to lines sent to us, which appeared simultaneously in the *Morning Chronicle*.—EP.

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That it could have got itself propounded by one so penetrated with the love and admiration of *Christ* as to say, with evident sincerity, "most devoutly do I wish that His spirit could be introduced into our daily life and work," is a psychological contradiction not likely to diminish their astonishment.

I cannot contemplate the course pursued by the *Leader* on this subject without forebodings. It has advocated the arming of the people with, apparently, an indirect view to the settlement of *internal* no less than *international* questions. There lies the hideous danger; there, the gravity of the delusion. As if an appeal to the lower propensities—the animal instincts and brute force of the people—for the determination of high and difficult questions of social and political science, were not a reversal of all rational action! As if the experience of the continent (especially during these four years past of armed struggle) were not a crushing commentary upon such policy! As if, in particular, the "progress" of the armed and martial-trained French were not the mockery it is! In defiance of all just causation; in defiance of the positive results of experience; in defiance of its own profession of faith (see its motto, which I take to be the embodiment of this faith), the *Leader* cries, "To Arms!" "Arm the people, that they may conquer their rights, and assist other peoples in conquering theirs. The education of that spirit which would prevent their rights from being withheld, is too slow a process—Involves too much 'patience and long-suffering,' too much intelligence, too high and long-sustained endeavours; it may do for the white-livered advocates of Peace; but, for the gallant and generous, the fearless, reckless, impulsive, and brave people, never! It is all sham. There are no bloodless victories. The pen is not greater than the sword. Those who, by accident of birth, or of position, or of internal power, are now 'dressed in brief authority' over us, are not of the same nature as ourselves; do not have the same aspirations towards the good, the true, the beautiful, and the perfect. They neither do, nor *wish* to do, justice. They do not desire to see the people prosperous, happy, and free. They have no interest in common with us. It is not differences of vision or opinion capable of rational adjustment that keep them and us apart. There are *none* of our 'own order' that conscientiously concur in their opinions and principles. There is no difficulty in deciding the questions at issue between us. They are wrong; we are right: to arms! to arms! and enforce the right. The foolish doctrine that there are any essential relations between right and the human soul, whereby the right gets itself admitted in virtue of its own qualities; that to be admitted it needs only to be seen, is none of ours: to arms! to arms!"

Leader, will you not re-consider your grounds? Is your great influence to be permanently given to a creed so irrational? Must we continue to lament that the faculties already too predominant and active, whence arise the very evils you and all true *Leaders* are wanted to neutralize and overcome, are to be goaded only into increased predominance and activity? But I delay "Marie's" dissection of this physical-force policy, done in the light of the *Leader's* motto already referred to. Let me give place. Let me add, merely, that as her verses were almost impromptu, and have not been revised, they are to be taken *not* as a work of Art.

A. L.

"ARM! ARM! ARM!"

Leader, 24th of January, 1852.

"*THE* one Idea which History exhibits, as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness, is the *Idea of Humanity*—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views, and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour; to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual natures."

—*LEADER'S Motto.*"BLIND *Leader* of the blind," art thou,

Who now in rhyming numbers,

Wouldst fain awake the Savage Beast

That in the "Briton" slumbers,—

Who with an outcry, fierce and wild,

And voice of shrill alarm,

Wouldst call the "gallant volunteers"

To "wake, arise," and "arm!"

Put rifles in the People's hands,

In readiness for battle.

And teach them how, at longest mark,

To shoot down men like cattle;

And whisper as you do the deed,

That this is right and good,

And "treating the whole human race

As one great brotherhood!"

Tis thus we help to trample down

The "barriers erected."

Thus overcome "one-sided views,"

We fain would see rejected.

A "shout for rifles" soon will teach

"Ideas of Humanity,"

And cannon-balls instil the creed

Of holy Christianity!

Well nigh two thousand years ago

Methought our elder Brother,

A new commandment uttered forth,—

That we should "love each other;"

*Is this sweet love, that gleameth forth
With flushed and heated features,—
Is this "the free development
Of spiritual natures!"*

*Methinks I see His earnest eyes
Reproach thee for this guiding:
Methinks I hear His spirit-voice
In serious, gentle chiding:
I hear His prayer, when they of old,
His tender body slew:
Ye slay His Spirit! still He saith,
"They know not what they do!"*

MARIE.

Chorley, January, 1852.

REGULAR TROOPS AND VOLUNTEERS.

(To the *Editor of the Leader*)

AT a time when the press teems with letters about "*our defences*," "*formation of rifle clubs*," disparaging remarks regarding poor old Brown Bess, as a projector of "*missiles*," and fearful *Manchussons*, invented by the world-be-known admirers of Minie's Rifle, touching the long-range capabilities of that weapon, which now only want a *clincher* from some of the witty American journals, who can always cap a good story—the *Leader* takes up the subject, and favours its astonished readers with "*Notes on War by a Soldier*;" the writer of which not only calls our musket all sorts of hard names, but actually pooh-poohs the rifle! and tells us that soldiers should scorn "trigger-pulling," take to trusty steel blades, rush in on an enemy, and flog with their keen blades till their arms ache, which would settle the affair in ten minutes. These are tactics which he advocates, not so much for a Government standing army, but for what I must call, in *Leader* phraseology, a People's army—tactics to be adopted by the working classes, who, according to *Leader* policy, should be all armed to defend their "liberties" from *wherever* attacked.

On your contributor the *Soldier's* Part 4, published in your number of Jan. 31st, I wish to make a few comments.

I observe, that he coincides with the very common opinion, that "the regular soldier, of course, possesses no more than an ordinary share of animal courage, pugnacity, and pride."

Civilians, I know, love to flatter themselves that such is the fact, and it would be ill taste in any soldier to argue the point. But bearing, as it does, on the question of superiority of sword-fighting over trigger-pulling, as applied to a People's army, (which I presume would be a compulsory service exacted under certain conditions *from all citizens*,) I beg to differ to this opinion.

The soldiers of the British, or any other army, where they are not enlisted by conscription, are the *picked fighting men of that country*.

Nobody who takes the trouble to inquire into the antecedents of our soldiers, but will be convinced, that as a *mass*, they are possessed of much more animal courage than their peaceful and more respectable stay-at-home brethren.

They have been the *bad boys* of their age—truant-playing, bird-nesting, poaching, ne'er-do-wells, and have worn countless black eyes. A poaching affray, a love quarrel, or a drinking bout introduces them to the dashing recruiting serjeant, who captivates them with a recital of adventures in foreign parts, and they take the shilling, while the timid spirit hangs back.

Assuming, then, that volunteer soldiers have, as a body, more animal courage than their civilian countrymen, I now proceed to consider whether *any* body of troops could be got to go in in the splendid dashing style demanded by your enthusiastic contributor.

I believe not—not even Englishmen. The fact is, such a bull-dog death-or-glory heroism as your "Soldier" would require to carry out his tactics against a *physically equal* enemy, is, I believe, after all, the *scarcest virtue extant*. We are accustomed to hear of gallant battles won (according to despatches) in such a "take-no-denial" style, that we have got to believe that highest courage, self-devotion, is a cheap and most common attribute of manhood. Perhaps, if we were behind the scenes during the slaughter of a battle, we should alter such opinion.

I do not believe that you could (unless your swords-men were an army of lunatics) get them to advance under a heavy fire, and run on the bayonets of a *determined* enemy.

At sixty yards a general discharge from our muskets now in use would lift them off their legs; and to waver—as waver they would if they were but mortal men—would be certain defeat, if not annihilation. I shall rob your contributor of one sentence, to strengthen my own argument. "Carrying a position with the bayonet,"—"Driving back the enemy with the bayonet," "are terms frequently used by writers of dis-

patches and histories, but no living soldier has ever seen two lines of infantry approach so close as to push and thrust and fence with bayonets."

Exactly so; nor will you get men, even armed with a sword, to run on a long line of charging bayonets to try the question of superiority of weapons, particularly after they have been decimated four or five times during their advance, and have, perhaps, another similar favour in store for them to be delivered to each swordsman as a prelude to the fencing bout.

That a mass of swordsmen, properly supported by the other arms of the service, would, if they were *all resolved to conquer or die*, win a battle from double their number of men using musket and bayonet, I have no doubt, but that there are not 10,000 such to be got together, I feel also sure. Death is a fearful thing, and the nearer it is seen, the uglier it looks. Supposing, however, that the swordsmen were *superior in animal courage, strength, and weight*, as I fondly fancy our countrymen are, compared with any continental nation, then, indeed, E. V.'s hand to hand fighting might answer with the ordinary allowance of national courage, which would be content to cry enough after a severe wound or two, and hobble to the rear; but to win a battle from soldiers *physically equal*, and determined to stand their ground, you must have men resolved to fight like game-cocks, till they are dead, and such death-or-glory boys are scarce.

I fear, therefore, that "Standing armies, trained and disciplined soldiers, skilled gunners, and costly contrivances and stores," *will* for ever give a preponderance to the powers of *despotism* (?) over that of a people." That is to say, that no *people*, however armed, can hope to win against its trained regular soldiers, particularly should those trained soldiers be raised on the volunteer system—the *pugnaces* of the country.

Blois.

SKOOGSMAN.*

AMENDED NEWSPAPER-STAMPS SCHEME.

(To the *Editor of the Leader*)

SIR,—Permit me to make a few remarks on the letter of your correspondent, A. H. G.

The letter deals in the most simple and satisfactory manner with the advertisement duty and the caution-money for libel, which latter security, it may be well to state, is required by law, but not in practice, from almost every unstamped publication.

The subject of copyright is treated in a manner both complicated and unsatisfactory. Surely, the nearest newspapers will be the most dangerous rivals, and if six hours' copyright be a sufficient protection in the same locality, it would be more than sufficient a hundred miles off.

But though a few hours' copyright may be sufficient for news, I see no reason why articles in a newspaper should not be treated as articles in books, and considered as literary property; it would be easy for the press to have an understanding as to how far they expected this rule to be acted upon.

A. H. G.'s plan for settling the newspaper stamp would make everybody dissatisfied. The present large newspapers would have to pay a higher rate than at present; the quantity of work done by the local posts would be so increased, that there would probably be a loss to the revenue; for, he it recollects, that the expense of delivery depends more on the number of houses to be called at, than on the weight to be delivered at each; lastly, the press would not be free: why should a man be forced to pay a farthing postage on a paper which he does not wish to send by post?

The plain truth is, that we don't want a law about transmitting newspapers, any more than a law about transmitting Manchester cottons or Newcastle coals. If these were taxed, and the carriage to London paid out of the tax, there would be cotton-spinners found to say that the Londoners would wear fig-leaves rather than pay for the carriage of calicoes, and bore for coal on Blackheath rather than freight ships to Newcastle.

Instead of A. H. G.'s plan, I propose—

1. A uniform twelve hours' copyright for news.

2. Articles to be the same as books.

3. The stamp to be abolished.

4. The post-office to manage the postage of newspapers, with free liberty to any private individual to manage it better, if he can.

C. DOBSON COLLET,
*Secretary to the Society for Promoting the Repeal
of the Taxes on Knowledge.*

20, Great Coram-street,
February, 1852.

* We insert this letter, the writer being a military officer, and, therefore, as well able to judge this question as the author of the "Notes on War."—ED.

Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

It will be pleasant news to hear that all SYDNEY SMITH's papers have been placed in the skilful hands of Mrs. AUSTIN, to arrange for publication, it being his widow's desire that every scrap should be published. SYDNEY SMITH was one of those thoroughly delightful minds whose very fragments have their interest: valuable or trivial in the thought, they are certain to be charming in the manner.

Messrs. MACMILLAN, the Cambridge publishers, have issued a prospectus of a series of Essays on the *Restoration of Belief*, intended to counteract the rapidly spreading doctrines rejecting Christianity—doctrines which assail orthodoxy even in its very universities, as we have the best of all reasons for knowing. We are heartily glad to see this undertaking, and promise its author the most deliberate and emphatic recognition. He has a distinct conception of the difficulties, as may be seen in these sentences from his prospectus:—

“These facts are however beyond doubt; and they call for the most serious regard:—1st, That disbelief, under a somewhat new guise, is at this time openly avowed by perhaps a larger proportion of the educated classes than it heretofore has been: 2ndly, That a settled disbelief claims as its own some who refuse to make any such avowal; but whose state of mind can be no secret to their intimate friends: and 3rdly, That many in all circles are much troubled and disquieted, and are robbed of their comfort, and are in danger of losing for ever what they hold with a trembling grasp.

“The writer, in the present instance, has no inclination to attempt the recovery of those who belong to the first-named class; and yet the recovery even of these, he would think less improbable than that of those who take their place in the second. But it is in the confident hope of rendering a timely aid to the many around and near us, belonging to the *third* class, that he now comes forward; and what he means by the RESTORATION OF BELIEF, includes vastly more than the bringing back into minds that have lost it, a logical conclusion to this effect—that Christianity is from God. What the writer desires to do for those who will listen to him, is to lead them, without reserve, into the cordial approval of CHRISTIANITY, and its amplitude of doctrine, as held and professed by the Faithful of all times.”

We welcome this attempt, as we welcome all free deliberate discussion—the only *final* way of settling difficulties. Inquisitions, auto-da-fés, censorships, and press laws may intimidate Truth—they cannot finally destroy it; like a cork pressed under water, it is sure to bob up in some other place. As to the evil of free discussion—that it gives publicity to errors and follies which mislead mankind—it must be accepted with the good. The same objection may be brought against the universe itself; and yet we are tolerably content to accept it. The only healthy method of suppressing error is by setting truth at liberty. To imagine error can be suppressed, or eliminated altogether, is chimerical; and, as ROYER COLLARD sarcastically said, when the censorship was under discussion in 1830,—“There must have been a great want of foresight at the Creation, otherwise man would never have been suffered to go forth into the world free and intelligent, for thence have evil and error issued. A higher wisdom now undertakes to repair the fault of Providence.”

If the lessons of history did not fall upon ears deaf as adders, the present absurd crusade against a free press on the Continent could never be sustained. Is LOUIS NAPOLEON to succeed where all have failed? The ancient monarchy of France refused liberty to the press. We know how it perished. NAPOLEON inaugurated the reign of the sabre; yet the press dethroned him by disheartening France. The Restoration certainly spared no restrictions on the press; yet its fall was occasioned by the protests of the journalists. The Monarchy of July would not suffer a free press—where is it? LOUIS NAPOLEON, by his alliance of the sabre and the surplice, hopes, no doubt, to suppress opinion. Yet the very priests whom he calls round him could assure him that the Christianity they profess is a striking example of how a doctrine may triumph without a press, and in spite of sabres and surplices!

The mention of LOUIS NAPOLEON recalls a sentence of his, quoted in the *Bulletin Français*, which ought to be placarded on all the dead walls of France: “*Le titre que j'ambitionne le plus, c'est le titre d'honnête homme—I have but one ambition, that of earning the name of a perfectly honourable man*.” Certainly after this it is idle to set a limit to the extravagance of ambition!

The *Bulletin Français*, from which we have just quoted, is now a newspaper, published in London by Mr. JEFFS, its proprietors being resolute, and not to be put down. Driven out of Belgium, they pass over to England, and here securely print their journal, and circulate it largely in France, Germany, Belgium, and England.

GEORGE SAND has made another unsuccessful dramatic experiment, *Pandolphe en vacances*, which distresses the admirers of her genius, who desire to see her renounce a stage to which that genius is clearly not adapted, in spite of *Le Champi et Claudio*. In the last *Revue des Deux Mondes* is commenced a skilful translation of Mrs. NORTON's beautiful novel, *Stuart of Dunleath*, by EMILE FORGUES; and an intimation is given of this vein being actively worked. It is but right we should furnish France with some return for all we take from her.

Lovers of epigrammatic writing and sparkling aphorisms will be glad to

learn that the works of CHAMFORT are collected into one octavo volume of the “Charpentier format,” (or, as the French call it, “format Anglais,”) with a preliminary essay by ARSENE HOUSAYE. These writings abound in anecdotes, and sharp sentences, picturesque, ear-catching, brief and suggestive phrases, which may, to quote BOILEAU,

“Par le prompt effet d'un sel réjouissant
Devenir quelquefois proverbes en naissant.”

BANCROFT'S AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

History of the American Revolution. By George Bancroft. Vol. I. Bentley. A SOLID and brilliant book: conscientious in its research and winnowing of evidence, lucid and splendid in its exposition. Only the first volume has appeared, and that is introductory to the great subject, opening with an excellent survey of the state of affairs in 1748, when first America claimed legislative independence, and relating the history down to the year 1763, when the Revolution may be said to have fairly begun, although the War of Independence did not break out till 1775. To those who possess Mr. Bancroft's valuable *History of the United States*, this volume will be a most desirable continuation and companion; but the work will be complete in itself.

A writer so rhetorical, so musical, and so graphic, is apt to inspire an uneasy suspicion that he may be “dressing up for effect.” We can scarcely name a writer of whom that can less truly be said; and we place Mr. Bancroft's conscientiousness foremost among his qualities, because we see how completely the truthful historian has kept the “fine writer” in abeyance. Let Bancroft be compared with Macaulay in this respect! Whatever style can do to animate the dead past, Bancroft rightly aims at; he makes no attempt to coerce history into an epigram, or to sacrifice truth to antithesis. Beyond this general truthfulness he has a high, impartial view of history, and, while truly national in feelings, he recognises that truth which takes the edge from national prejudices and asperities—the truth that the human race is one, and that Humanity has a common life working onwards to a common end.

“The authors of the American Revolution avowed for their object the welfare of mankind, and believed that they were in the service of their own and of all future generations. Their faith was just; for the world of mankind does not exist in fragments, nor can a country have an insulated existence. All men are brothers; and all are bondsmen for one another. All nations, too, are brothers, and each is responsible for that federative humanity which puts the ban of exclusion on none. New principles of government could not assert themselves in one hemisphere without affecting the other. The very idea of the progress of an individual people, in its relation to universal history, springs from the acknowledged unity of the race.”

* * * * *

“While the world of mankind is accomplishing its nearer connexion, it is also advancing in the power of its intelligence. The possession of reason is the engagement for that progress of which history keeps the record. The faculties of each individual mind are limited in their development; the reason of the whole strives for perfection, has been restlessly forming itself from the first moment of human existence, and has never met bounds to its capacity for improvement. The generations of men are not like the leaves on the trees, which fall and renew themselves without melioration or change; individuals disappear like the foliage and the flowers; the existence of our kind is continuous, and its ages are reciprocally dependent. Were it not so, there would be no great truths inspiring action, no laws regulating human achievements; the movement of the living world would be as the ebb and flow of the ocean; and the mind would no more be touched by the visible agency of Providence in human affairs. In the lower creation, instinct is always equal to itself; the beaver builds his hut, the bee his cell, without an acquisition of thought, or an increase of skill. ‘By a particular prerogative,’ as Pascal has written, ‘not only each man advances daily in the sciences, but all men unitedly make never-ceasing progress in them, as the universe grows older; so that the whole succession of human beings, during the course of so many ages, ought to be considered as one identical man, who subsists always, and who learns without end.’”

“It is this idea of continuity which gives vitality to history. No period of time has a separate being; no public opinion can escape the influence of previous intelligence. We are cheered by rays from former centuries, and live in the sunny reflection of all their light. What though thought is invisible, and, even when effective, seems as transient as the wind that raised the cloud? It is yet free and indestructible; can as little be bound in chains as the aspiring flame; and, when once generated, takes eternity for its guardian. We are the children and the heirs of the past, with which, as with the future, we are indissolubly linked together; and he that truly has sympathy with everything belonging to man, will, with his toils for posterity, blend affection for the times that are gone by, and seek to live in the vast life of the ages. It is by thankfully recognising those ages as a part of the great existence in which we share, that history wins power to move the soul. She comes to us with tidings of that for us still lives, of that which has become the life of our life. She embalms and preserves for us the life-blood, not of master-spirits only, but of generations of the race.”

From one arrived at that lofty point of view we regret to see an occasional phrase escape, which implies a lower and a narrower conception of human history—e.g., “For it always holds true, that Heaven plants division in the council of the enemies of freedom.” We are ashamed to have to ask Mr. Bancroft if he really thinks that Heaven derogates so far as thus with petty interference to meddle in human affairs—if he really thinks that only in the councils of the *enemies* of freedom are divisions caused by Heaven, and that the divisions in the councils of the *friends* of freedom have another parentage?

We turn to more pleasant pages. While the country is agitated more or less by the cry of protection, it may be amusing to read this illustration of it, which takes its place in Mr. Bancroft's narrative:—

“America abounded in iron ore; its unwrought iron was excluded by a duty from the English market; and its people were rapidly gaining skill at the furnace and the forge. In February, 1750, the subject engaged the attention of the House of Commons. To check the danger of American rivalry, Charles Townshend was placed at the head of a committee, on which Horatio Walpole, senior, and Robert

Nugent, afterwards Lord Clare—a man of talents, yet not free from ‘bombast and absurdities,’—were among the associates. After a few days’ deliberation, he brought in a bill which permitted American iron, in its rudest forms, to be imported, duty free; but now that the nailers in the colonies could afford spikes and large nails cheaper than the English, it forbade the smiths of America to erect any mill for slitting or rolling iron, or any plating forge to work with a tilt-hammer, or any furnace for making steel. ‘The restriction,’ said Penn, ‘is of most dangerous consequence to prevent our making what we want for our own use. . . . It is an attack on the rights of the King’s subjects in America.’ William Bollan, the agent of Massachusetts, pleaded its inconsistency with the natural rights of the colonists. But while England applauded the restriction, its owners of iron mines grudged to America share of the market for the rough material; the tanners, from the threatened inaction of the English furnaces, feared a diminished supply of bark; *the clergy and gentry forebode injury to the price of woodlands.* The importation of bar iron from the colonies was therefore limited to the port of London, which already had its supply from abroad. The ironmongers and smiths of Birmingham thought well of importing bars of iron free, but, from ‘compassion’ to the ‘many thousand families in the kingdom’ who otherwise ‘must be ruined,’ they prayed that ‘the American people’ might be subject not to the proposed restrictions only, but to such others ‘as may secure for ever the trade to this country.’

The narrative is of unflagging interest. The mighty issues which great principles were working in the history of the race—the varied scenes and strange characters traversing those scenes—all give to this history a peculiar charm. Not the least attractive are those pages where the Indian races and their vast lands are marshalled before us; and we will conclude this notice with a glimpse at an Indian council.

On the 21st day of February, after a distribution of presents, articles of peace and alliance were drawn up between the English of Pennsylvania on the one side, and the Weas and Piankeshaws on the other; were signed and sealed in duplicate, and delivered on both sides. All the friendly tribes of the west were also to meet the next summer at Logstown, for a general treaty with Virginia.

The indentures had just been exchanged, when four Ottawas drew near, with a present from the Governor of Canada, were admitted at once to the council, and desired a renewal of friendship with their fathers, the French. The king of the Piankeshaws, setting up the English colours in the council, as well as the French, rose and replied: ‘The path to the French is bloody, and was made so by them. We have cleared a road for our brothers, the English, and your fathers have made it foul, and have taken some of our brothers prisoners.’ They had taken three at the Huron village, near Detroit, and one on the Wabash. ‘This,’ added the king, ‘we look upon as done to us;’ and turning suddenly from them, he strode out of the council. At this, the representative of the French, an Ottawa, wept and howled, predicting sorrow for the Miamis.

To the English the Weas and Piankeshaws, after deliberation, sent a speech by the great orator of the Weas. ‘You have taken us by the hand,’ were his words, ‘into the great chain of friendship. Therefore we present you with these two bundles of skins, to make shoes for your people, and this pipe to smoke in, to assure you our hearts are good towards you, our brothers.’

In the presence of the Ottawa ambassadors, the great war-chief of Picqua stood up, and, summoning in imagination the French to be present, he spoke:—

‘Fathers! you have desired we should go home to you, but I tell you it is not our home; for we have made a path to the sun-rising, and have been taken by the hand by our brothers, the English, the Six Nations, the Delawares, the Shawnees, and the Wyandots; and we assure you, in that road we will go. And as you threaten us with war in the spring, we tell you, if you are angry, we are ready to receive you, and resolve to die here, before we will go to you. That you may know this is our mind, we send you this string of black wampum.

‘Brothers, the Ottawas, you hear what I say; tell that to your fathers the French; for that is our mind, and we speak it from our hearts.’

The French colours are taken down; the Ottawas are dismissed to the French fort at Sandusky. The Long House, late the senate-chamber of the united Miami, rings with the music and the riotous motions of the feather-dance. Now a war-chief strikes a post: the music and the dancers, on the instant, are hushed to silent listeners; the brave recounts his deeds in war, and proves the greatness of his mind by throwing presents lavishly to the musicians and the dancers. Then once more the turmoil of joy is renewed, till another warrior rises to boast his prowess, and scatter gifts in his turn.’

MERVYN CLITHEROE.

The Life and Adventures of Mervyn Clitheroe. By W. Harrison Ainsworth. Chapman and Hall.

Four or five months ago, the readers of advertisements learned, with some surprise, that Mr. Ainsworth was about to risk the perilous ordeal of competition with Dickens and Thackeray, by publishing his twenty numbers of ‘Life and Adventures,’ the intense interest of which Hablot Browne indicated prospectively in his usual mysterious style in an agitated and incomprehensible frontispiece. Mr. Ainsworth has readers; he has more—he has admirers. Where they exist, we do not pretend to say, having encountered but three; but that they do exist, the sale of his works attests. It became an experiment of some interest to him to learn whether the public of Dickens and Thackeray would accept him. The experiment, we fear, has not proved successful. With the fourth number Mr. Ainsworth quits the field. ‘Unforeseen circumstances are likely to compel him to suspend for awhile his pleasant task.’ We are not in Mr. Ainsworth’s confidence, and therefore know not what these ‘circumstances’ are, but if *failure* is one of them, we marvel at the epithet ‘unforeseen.’ It surely required but the smallest sagacity to foresee that nothing but failure could follow such hacknied and uninteresting incidents told in such a style; and it would have been more frank and manly had the failure been avowed. For let the real case be understood. Mr. Ainsworth has undoubtedly some of the qualities necessary to a romance writer. We have the poorest possible opinion of his works, most of which we have tried in vain to read; but against our opinion there is the set-off of success. Whatever may be thought of these works, their warmest admirers will never think of claiming for them any literary merit, any faithful observation of life, any originality of character; style, thought, observation, and dramatic penetra-

tion of character, are scarcely aimed at, certainly not reached. Yet, although the absence of these qualities may not be greatly missed by careless readers hurrying through the story, and moved only by ‘startling incidents’—in the small compass of the two sheets issued monthly readers look for some such qualities, and not finding them, regard their shilling as grievously ill-spent. Hence, from the first we regarded this venture as a mistake. We remembered the abrupt termination of his ‘Mysteries of London,’ and thought of the exigent public!

To point out the defects of *Mervyn Clitheroe* would demand more space than we are disposed to give; but a few sentences will suffice to characterize the *style* in which it is written, and our readers may judge from that style what the higher qualities are likely to be. We will not fastidiously dwell on faults of grammar, but confine ourselves to the abiding commonplace of diction which renders the writing intolerable. Penny-a-liners are terrible fellows for vulgarizing a language by their incessant repetition of common phrases, and their pertinacity in clinging to bad metaphors; and it is because they have worn away almost all trace of the image from the current coin that we throw down in weariness a book which, like *Mervyn Clitheroe*, will not simply tell us that men were asleep, but must say they were ‘locked in slumber,’ which tells us that a man was ‘fond of antiquarian researches, and *no mean poet*’—which, disdaining simplicity, and seeking for the delicate effects of style, cannot call a fish-pond by any less lofty title than ‘piscine preserve;’ and only knows the habits of birds as ‘the pursuits of the feathered creation.’ These writers never eat a dinner; they ‘partake of a repast,’ which is so much more elegant; they think with Boileau—

“Quoi que vous écriviez, évitez la basseesse:
Le style le moins noble a pourtant sa noblesse;”

and to avoid the undignified, according to them, it is only necessary not to call things by their proper names.

Dip where you will in Mr. Ainsworth’s pages, your eye is certain to alight upon elegancies of expression, such as ‘when that *time expired*, he enjoined further delay;’ or on playful remarks such as—

“Mrs. Mervyn was very hospitable, but her invitations were chiefly confined to clergymen, and a day seldom passed that one or two reverend gentlemen did not dine with her; and as these excellent members of society are not supposed to despise the good things of the world, and the dinners at the Anchorite’s were unexceptional, a refusal was seldom experienced.”

Or on some novelty such as ‘His was the *suaviter in modo* rather than the *fortiter in re*,’ a remark we have met with before. Lest it should seem invidious thus to detach single sentences (although no man of taste could suffer such sentences to escape him), we will quote a passage which appears to have been written with some elaboration. Read and judge.

“I longed for the time when I should be able to throw a fly and take the speckled trout in some mountain stream. My conversation turned wholly upon fishing; and I was thrown into ecstasies by hearing of any piscine preserves, and treasured the places in my memory. I have since learnt to dislike the angler’s art, and, so far from thinking it a ‘gentle’ sport, am of opinion that it is a very cruel pastime: but I had no such scruples of sensibility then. If I gained nothing else by the pursuit, at all events I acquired a love of Nature. I beheld her beauties under many a varied aspect—at morn and eve, amid showers as well as sunshine. I noted the pursuits of the feathered creation with interest, and listened attentively to their different songs and cries.”

The peculiarity in all these expressions we have noted, is the permanent position they occupy in bad writers. One copies them from another in unhesitating good faith. There seems a certain fascination exercised by inaccurate expressions upon inaccurate minds; and hence the ‘damnable iteration’ of ‘individual,’ ‘party,’ and words of similar abomination. And as with expressions, so with jokes; their antique badness is the passport to certain minds. By way of example, read this which Mr. Ainsworth with dauntless courage has deliberately written:—

“The great boar had lost his curly tail, and the appendage being unaccountably found in my pocket, it proved a great *bore* to me.”

Do you observe how this joke, the subtlety of which is about equal to its novelty, is flavoured by that *curiosa felicitas* of expression, ‘the appendage.’ We are content to rest our verdict on the single count of that one joke, and confidently ask the reader whether an author who could print such a passage was at all in a condition to command readers for a work in twenty shilling parts?

PALMERSTON’S OPINIONS.

Opinions and Policy of Lord Palmerston, as Minister, Diplomatist, and Statesman, during more than Forty Years of Public Life. With a Memoir. By George Henry Francis, Esq. Colburn.

Such is the title-page of a volume, which, issued opportunely, has, no doubt, found ready purchasers in an excitable public. A more attractive title could not have been invented—a more judicious moment for publication could not have been chosen; but it is one thing to invent a good title, another to improvise a good book; and, in this instance, although the author has admirably succeeded in the former, in the latter he has quite failed. ‘Excerpts from the Speeches of Lord Palmerston, with fancy headings, thrown together with as little want of arrangement as possible. By,’ &c. &c., would have less inappropriately described the volume. Under the plea of impartiality, Mr. Francis abstains from giving us the smallest scrap of information upon the course of public affairs during ‘more than forty years,’ other than that contained in these detached passages from Lord Palmerston’s speeches, printed as his ‘opinions and policy.’ What might he not have done by a few judicious and mere matter-of-fact marginal notes, to fulfil his intentions, and ‘assist the public mind in forming a just opinion’ of Lord Palmerston’s ‘character and career!’ But he has done nothing of the kind. Beginning with the year 1808, when Palmerston makes his first appearance, we are carried on from year to year, in regular succession, through a set of distinct, discursive passages upon various topics, jumbled chronologically together, until we are landed in 1851. Dates alone have supplied

Mr. Francis with any notion of order; chronology is the corner-stone of his art. He has gone through Hansard, and picked, and culled, not always with commendable discrimination, from what he calls, in choice phrase, "abundance of materials of the best quality"—he has placed above his extracts a title, more or less applicable—and he has arranged them in sequence of time. By way of preface, he has placed before these extracts what he terms a "Memoir," but which is chiefly a collection of dates and proper names. Indeed, that the figures of the Christian ear should succeed each other in exact succession seems to be the most notable principle adopted in concocting this volume. And the result achieved was inevitable—the book is nearly useless as an assistance to the "public mind," the laudable intention of the editor remaining unfulfilled. How different that result would have been had Mr. Francis excluded about a fourth of the extracts, and filled up the space with explanatory notes. And how well the public could have spared them, he who ever ventures into these waste places will speedily discover! What is the importance to us, for instance, of an insinuation, uttered in the heat of debate, that Mr. Hume does not understand arithmetic; or of ridicule of Mr. Croker, out of which all the point and smartness have faded long ago, and which Mr. Francis would not be at the pains to revive?

Apart, however, from defects of arrangement, the book has a certain value. We have Lord Palmerston's authentic opinions on many subjects; we have glimpses of Lord Palmerston's "character," although these, from the absence of a running commentary, are rather dim; and we have some indications of Lord Palmerston's policy, which, diligently strung together, and placed in their historical setting, are welcome enough. But of Lord Palmerston's "career," except in so far as indicated in the dates and names of the pages headed "Memoir," we have no information whatever. If the Editor only intended his volume as a book of reference, then, we admit, he has partially succeeded, and we willingly give all due thanks for the same. But we must protest against books of reference bearing such magnificent titles (which stand as letters of introduction to the public) as "Lord Palmerston's Opinions and Policy," when the editor only proffers a heap of Lord Palmerston's discursive opinions, and disjointed specimens of a policy, embracing more than forty years of time, and almost all the world in its effects.

BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

Observations on Life Assurance Societies and Savings Banks. In Two Parts. With a Mathematical Appendix and Tables. By Arthur Scratchley, M.A.

John W. Parker and Son.

MR. SCRATCHLEY, who was formerly the Sadlerian lecturer of Queen's College, Cambridge, and who, as Examiner of the Institute of Actuaries of Great Britain, must be allowed to speak with authority on matters of Life Assurance and Savings Banks, has recorded his opinions in this elaborate treatise in a way to secure the attention of all interested in this subject. He examines Life Assurance from all its principal points of view, with an urgent plaidoyer in favour of assurance. He then treats of Savings Banks and the Deposit System, and concludes with a variety of illustrative Tables. The remarks on what Mr. Scratchley calls the *Suspension Principle* are peculiarly deserving of attention, and meet one of the most pressing objections to assurance.

Two Stories for my Young Friends: The Ericksons. The Clever Boy; or, Consider Another. By Miss Frances Brown. Paton and Ritchie, Edinburgh.
Sir Christopher Wren, and his Times. With Sketches and Anecdotes of Most Distinguished Persons in the Seventeenth Century. By James Elmes. Chapman and Hall.
On the Amendment of the Law and Practice of Letters Patent for Inventions. By Thomas Webster, Esq., M.A., &c. Second Edition. Chapman and Hall.
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Bentley's Shilling Series—Narrative of the Loss of the Amazon Steam Vessel. Richard Bentley.
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Robert Owen's Journal. Part XVIII. James Watson.
Memoirs of Extraordinary Popular Delusions, and the Madness of Crowds. By Charles Mackay, LL.D. Vols. I. and II. National Illustrated Library.
Travels in Tartary, Thibet, and China, during the Years 1845, 1846, and 1847. Translated by W. Hazlitt. Vol. II. National Illustrated Library.

Portfolio.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—*GOETHE.*

MAGNETIC EVENINGS AT HOME.—(Concluded.)

LETTER VI.—TO G. H. LEWIS.

ON looking over my notes, I find that I have hitherto omitted to mention some of our experiments, which, though perhaps of minor importance in themselves, are nevertheless not ill-calculated to assist in developing the widely-extended range of the magnetic influence in its action on the human subject. The experiments to which I refer, tended to show the power of Animal Magnetism in immensely increasing the muscular energy; in suspending the organic functions of persons in a perfectly wakeful state; and in aiding the painter or sculptor, by a special exertion of its influence in the studio, to work from the "living model."

The proof of the increase of muscular energy, to be produced at will by the application of magnetism, was thus displayed:—While V.— was in the magnetic state, the Count desired me to give her my hand, asserting at the same time, that he would make her clasp it with the grasp of a vice, with a grasp from which he alone could free me. The appearance of V.—'s hand, which had evidently never been exercised in any harder work than needlework, rendered this assertion very difficult to credit; but the event soon proved, in anything but an agreeable manner to me—or, as it seemed, to her—that the power of the magnetic influence had, in this instance, not been one whit overrated. The magnetizer made one "pass" over V.—'s hand, when she took mine; and immediately after, I felt it beginning to close—tighter, tighter, tighter!—until her arm quivered all up to the shoulder; and the pain I felt from her grasp grew so intense, that—"setting my manhood aside"—I fairly begged to be released from a sensation which most men consider to be a remarkably agreeable one—the squeeze of a young lady's hand! Two deep red impressions of that squeeze left in my skin, and a coldness and distortion of my fingers, which lasted full a quarter of an hour, were tolerably fair guarantees to the spectators of this experiment that I had certainly not "cried out before I was hurt."

The Count assured my friends who were present, that, if the practical illustration of his assertion which they had just witnessed, were not sufficient for them, he would be quite willing to experiment on the stoutest boatman they could call into the house from the beach outside, just as he had experimented on me. And he laughingly offered, at the same time, to lay a wager with anybody, pledging him—by merely placing one of V.—'s hands on this said boatman's chest, and the other against his shoulder-blade—to make her inflict such a pressure on the man, as should, in the most literal acceptation of the phrase, reduce him to "roar for mercy." It is hardly necessary to say that, after what the company had already seen, nobody was willing to take up the Count's bet!

The capabilities of the magnetic influence in suspending the exercise of particular organs, were very curiously exemplified in reference to the organ of speech. While we were all standing, one night, talking round the fire, after the experiments of the evening were over, and V.— had been awakened out of the magnetic sleep, the Count suddenly made a few "passes" close before her lips. Immediately afterwards, her articulation thickened; then ceased to be comprehensible: she could murmur; but could not pronounce a single word. In order to verify this experiment by our eyes, as well as by our ears, I asked her to open her mouth; and found her tongue reduced to less than its natural length, swollen to considerably more than its natural thickness, and presenting a curiously twisted, convulsed appearance. On touching it afterwards with the finger, it felt quite hard. Fairly judged by the tests of hearing, seeing, and touching, she was at that moment perfectly and palpably "tongue-tied."

The third experiment at which I have hinted, as tending to prove that Animal Magnetism might render real practical assistance to those who cultivate the fine arts, requires a word or two of preface, addressed to readers who may never have witnessed the progress of a picture on the easel, or the gradual construction of the clay model from which the marble statue is afterwards formed. Persons in this position, who only become acquainted with works of art in their finished state, have, very naturally, hardly an idea of the technical difficulties which at all stages beset the production of a picture or a statue, whatever the genius, however long the practice, of the producer may be. Among these technical difficulties, one that ranks as chief, is the difficulty of working from the living model, of painting or modelling from the life. In the first place, it is physically impossible, under any ordinary condition, for any human being to keep in the same position even for five minutes together, without insensibly moving a little, so as to embarrass the artist; to whom changes of this sort, so slight as to be imperceptible to the ordinary spectator, are always visible. In the second place, the effort on the part of the model to "sit" as still as possible, produces a constant sense of fatigue. Perhaps at the very moment when the painter or sculptor is working his best, the sitter discovers that he or she can sit no longer, and must absolutely take a rest; and the unfortunate artist finds his labour interrupted exactly at the point where his own interests demand that it should be continued. The more difficult the position of the model, the more frequent these minor miseries of the studio become. Sometimes when, for instance, the sitter's arm is long kept in an outstretched direction (most probably by tying it to a support), positive injury is sustained by cramps and stiffness, which often affect the limb that has been maintained too continuously in one arduous position. Some years since, a serious accident of this kind happened at the Royal Academy. A model in the "life school" had been standing for a considerable time, with one of his arms (artificially supported) extended, in the action of holding a bow. He was told to put his arm down, and rest. "I'm afraid, gentlemen," was the reply, "that I can't rest, for I can't put my arm down." It was found that the limb had stiffened in the socket, and the assistance of a surgeon was obliged to be called in to restore the arm of the unfortunate model to its natural position by his side.

Such accidents as these, such difficulties in the artist's way as those above-mentioned, Count P.— assured us could be entirely obviated by magnetizing the "model," and then using the magnetic influence to fix him (or her) with the stillness of a statue, in the same position—no matter how difficult—for any number of hours required; and this, as all experience proved, without the slightest sensation of stiffness being felt by, or the

smallest injury according to the health of persons so treated, on their being restored to the waking state. He practically illustrated the assertion, while we were discussing the subject during a morning visit at his house.

V— was magnetized, and placed, sitting on the edge of her chair, with her body inclined sideways thoroughly out of the perpendicular, and one of her arms extended and raised towards her head. The magnetizer then made one "pass" over her; and she remained in this position, as perfectly still as if she had been turned to marble (her outstretched arm not moving by a hair's breadth), for full ten minutes; or, in other words, until the spectators were tired of watching any longer. Should any readers consider that our want of patience to sit out the half-hour, during which the Count had himself suggested that we should wait, vitiated the completeness of this experiment, I recommend those ladies or gentlemen to put themselves in V—'s position, as above described, and to try to sit quite still in it for *three* minutes together by a watch; allowing a friend, at the same time, to keep an eye on the arm they will have to extend, for the purpose of noting whether it moves or not during that interval. I have myself occasionally officiated as amateur model to artist-friends, and know therefore, by experience, what the difficulty is of keeping a limb extended, or the body inclined, without support, in anything like a still position, even for so short a time as three minutes.

V— was awakened immediately after this experiment. I asked her whether she felt any sensation of stiffness in the arm which she had held out. The reply was, "None whatever;" and she proved its truth by immediately taking up and resuming her "crochet" work, which our visit had interrupted. Some idea may be formed of the extent to which this petrifying power of the magnetic influence can be carried, by the fact (communicated by letter a few days ago) that Count P— suddenly stopped V—, and struck her perfectly motionless, by a strong act of will, merely expressed by a single "pass," while she was dancing the polka! Incredible as this must appear to most people, it is nevertheless true. Besides the young lady's partner in the dance, other persons were present who saw the thing done.

I have now communicated to you the nature and result of all the experiments in Animal Magnetism which my stay in Somersetshire gave me an opportunity of witnessing—of all, at least, which I find preserved in my notes. In some few cases, I unhappily omitted to make my usual record on the spot; and to those cases, accordingly, I shall not direct your attention. I am unwilling to trust only to my recollection, however vivid I may consider it to be, in writing such a narrative as the present—a narrative which I should consider to be quite valueless, unless I knew it to be throughout literally true.

In closing this short series of letters, I can merely repeat what I wrote in commencing them. Having been allowed by Count P— to make public, in any form I chose, the experiments which he was kind enough to show me, I availed myself of that permission, because I considered that I had enjoyed, at his house, an unusually favourable opportunity for fairly estimating, by the fairest practical demonstration, the real merits of Animal Magnetism. The proceedings which I thus resolved to report, were proceedings conducted by a gentleman who followed the science only for its own sake, and for whose character and position I had the best and amplest guarantee. It is on this account, quite as much as on account of the internal evidence to their genuineness which I believe the experiments here reported to contain, that I venture to think my narrative at least worthy of attention from persons who will do me the common justice to read it with minds unprejudiced, either one way or the other.

As to the future of Animal Magnetism, it seems to me to be already assured. The science has, of late years, gained a vast hold on the convictions of men of intellect and men of honour in all quarters. As such persons continue to study it, year by year, more closely, and to extract from it more clearly the practical uses to which it may assuredly be directed for the benefit of humanity, so will the circle of believers, whose belief is worth gaining, inevitably widen and widen; and so will the masses, who follow, but never lead, be drawn into that circle after them. Leave the science to work its way honestly and boldly by its own merits, its visible, actual results; and it will certainly continue to advance, as it has already advanced. Angry partisanship will not avail it anything; public exhibitions of it, displayed to gaping crowds at so much a head, will lend it no assistance that is of real value. Let it be studied by each man who desires to know it, quietly and reverently, as a mystery too perilously important to be trifled with for mere amusement. Let the results of such studies as these, communicated by competent writers, and attested by competent witnesses, be the only sources whence persons who doubt the science (and can doubt it fairly) seek their *primary* information or encouragement. Thus practised, and thus examined, Animal Magnetism need ask no more; for then will have been conceded to it the only privilege that it ever required—the privilege of being justly judged.

W. W. C.

PEACE THE ACCOMPLICE.

AN esteemed correspondent has called to account one of our contributors for his hatred of that which he accounts a false peace: we print our correspondent's letter, with the graceful verses that he encloses, and our contributor will next week answer as he best can. Meanwhile, let him have the shield of a Muse not less eloquent; we extract the subjoined lines from

Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Casa Guidi Windows*—a noble appeal from the false to the true Peace.

"A cry is up in England, which doth ring
The hollow world through, that for ends of trade
And virtue, and God's better worshipping,
We henceforth should exalt the name of Peace,
And leave those rusty wars that eat the soul,—
(Besides their clippings at our golden fleece.)
I, too, have loved peace, and from bale to bale
Of immemorial, undeciduous trees,
Would write, as lovers use, upon a scroll
The holy name of Peace, and set it high
Where none should pluck it down. On trees, I say,—
Not upon gibbets!—With the greenery
Of dewy branches and the flowery May,
Sweet mediation 'twixt the earth and sky,
Providing, for the shepherd's holiday!
Not upon gibbets!—though the vulture leaves
Some quiet to the bones he first picked bare.
Not upon dungeons! though the wretch who grieves
And groans within, stirs not the outer air
As much as little field-mice stir the sheaves.
Not upon chain-bolts! though the slave's despair
Has dulled his helpless, miserable brain,
And left him blank beneath the freeman's whip,
To sing and laugh out idiocies of pain.
Nor yet on starving homes! where many a lip
Has sobbed itself asleep through curses vain!
I love no peace which is not fellowship,
And which includes not mercy. I would have
Rather, the raking of the guns across
The world, and shrieks against Heaven's architrave.
Rather, the struggle in the slippery fosse,
Of dying men and horses, and the wave
Blood-bubbling. . . . Enough said!—By Christ's own cross,
And by the faint heart of my womanhood,
Such things are better than a Peace which sits
Beside the hearth in self-commended mood,
And takes no thought how wind and rain by fits
Are howling out of doors against the good
Of the poor wanderer. What! your peace admits
Of outside anguish while it sits at home?
I loathe to take its name upon my tongue—
It is no peace. 'Tis treason, stiff with doom,—
'Tis gagged despair, and inarticulate wrong,
Annihilated Poland, stifled Rome,
Dazed Naples, Hungary fainting 'neath the thong
And Austria wearing a smooth olive-leaf
On her brute forehead, while her hoofs oppress
The life from these Italian souls, in brief.
O Lord of Peace, who art Lord of Righteousness,
Constrain the anguished worlds from sin and grief,
Pierce them with conscience, purge them with redress,
And give us peace which is no counterfeit!"

The Arts.

THE SICILIAN BRIDE.

ALTHOUGH the theatrical week has been busy, I have been theatrically idle; and instead of doing my duty in gaseous boxes, have lived through the rolling hours in severer studies, or in enchanted drawing-rooms, watching the Drama of Life, and following its shifting scenes with something of keener interest than the Stage has power to excite. We talk of tragedies and dramas, farces and comedies—nay, we write them sometimes, and strut triumphant at the feeble achievement; yet what are all our poor intentions compared with the terrible reality daily being acted around us! Oh, if the curtain of smooth appearance and polished indifference could but for a moment be drawn up, what a stage, and what situations on that stage, would meet the eye! The aching hearts that throb beneath the smiling brows!—the dark entangled perplexity of desire and crime which lies under the calm exterior!—the doubts that rack, the lusts that rage, the hate that festers, the anguish that eats away the heart, the mad ambitions that torment it,—all veiled from the gaze by a conventional propriety of speech and deportment! Such volcanoes boiling and seething under the graceful vine-clad mountain; such abysses of horror lightly bridged over by a fair-seeming appearance! But, happily for us all, we live beside the volcano, and heed it not, because we see it not; the drama is acted, but the curtain is not raised, and we see little or nothing of it, and so we betake ourselves to theatres, where some exaggerated picture of it may be seen. VIVIAN, who has lost his eagerness of the stage since he has learnt to raise for himself a corner of the curtain, and so watch the Drama of Life as it is played out before him, has been this week sacrificing duty to philosophy, and is forced to rely on the reports of others for much of the week's record.

BALFE's new opera, for example, I did not see. Frankly, I was not greatly tempted. The Balfeian ballad is my abomination. I never could dream that I dwelt in marble halls; my heart never is bowed down with weight of woe; and as to our being happy yet—it all depends upon the other "party." Nevertheless, there is a certain life—movement—animal spirits—call it what you will, in BALFE's music, not without its claim upon popularity. His writing has an Irish accent in it, bright, sprightly, genial, something vulgar, perhaps, and overlaid with blarney, but pleasant and full of life. In a short comic opera he is charming; but a grand opera, and the poetry by Bunn—"that gives us pause"! I did not go; and as far as I can

learn, I lost little by staying away. Instead of my report, you shall have that given by the critic of the *Morning Chronicle*, abridged.

Mr. BALFE's grand opera, which has been for some time in preparation, *The Sicilian Bride*, was given last Saturday evening with that degree of success which much clever scoring and a profusion of the old cut-and-dry Balfeian school of ballads, acting upon the favouring sympathies of a first night's audience, were likely to produce, but without, so far as can be judged from a first representation, achieving that genuine and unmistakeable impression wrought by works destined to live and be admired and studied as solid and worthy efforts of musical genius. *The Sicilian Bride* is an ambitious attempt at the most ambitious form of the grand opera. We could have wished Mr. BALFE to have continued his devotion to the lighter and more graceful *opéra comique*. In pieces like the *Quatre Fils d'Aymon*, and *Le Puit d'Amour* he is only second to ATHER, but in venturing upon MEYERBEER's ground his feebleness becomes apparent. He has neither the continuity nor profundity of musical imagination—he has neither the heated fancy nor the extraordinary command over orchestral and choral resources of the great musical dramatist; and, accordingly, a vast and complicated scene, involving massive volumes of sound, which in MEYERBEER's hands would have soared into a gloomy sublimity, becomes in Mr. BALFE's a mass of confused noise, in the production of which it is evident that the agencies used by the author of the *Huguenots* have been appealed to, but just as evident that they have not answered to the call of the weaker enchanter. Throughout the first act of *The Sicilian Bride* the imitation of MEYERBEER is very apparent. We have much the same musical effects kept in view as those in the second act of the *Huguenots*—the contending choruses of two warlike factions, hushed by the light and tripping music of dancing girls, and the contrast of martial with ecclesiastical music at the close of the act, being cases in point. But the opera has graver faults. In the first place, the subject, although not devoid of good dramatic points, is colourless and uninteresting. The incidents are glaringly improbable, the links of connexion between act and act not very apparent, and the *dénouement* so weak, and so obviously capable, by a very easily applied means, of improvement, that we wonder Mr. BUNN did not in this respect take a further liberty with M. ST. GEORGE, other than that of turning his libretto out of French into another language. Ingenious the work may perhaps be called, but it shows no fancy, or warmth, or glow of mental conception. The mind refuses to be carried on by the neatly-conceived, but far from catching or enthraling march of incident; while the personages are mere lay figures, without a breath of individuality or separate colouring, in whose fortunes no mortal can take the slightest interest. There is little or no difference made in the sentiment of their music: the French tyrant of Sicily sings just such ditties as the lover and the patriot; in fact, any one of the characters might change parts with another without any violence to at least the feeling of the music.

The general character of the opera is ambitious and elaborate, aspiring to complex choral treatment, and seasoned, for the sake of the music-sellers and the young ladies, with ballads in Mr. BALFE's ordinary sentimental manner. The instrumentation is full and noisy, keeping all the instruments well upon the stretch, and introducing several brass solos, to which but the scrupulous justice was done. The introduction or overture is short and brassy. It contains the principal motifs—particularly one repeated copiously in the work, and first introduced thereto when *Androzzì* is dictating the determination of the conspirators. The opening double chorus went flatly and heavily, although it contains clever and musician-like writing. The executants were by no means at their ease, and the music suffered proportionally. An aria, sung by Miss HORTON, as the young armourer, "The moment invites us," is quaint and lively, and its repeat by the chorus was effective. *Bianca* has then her first ballad, "I'm mine to weep," a plaintive melody of no very striking originality, but well adapted to mild drawing-room temperature. The duet for the lovers, "Oh delight!—oh hour enchanting!" is better. It has passion, spirit, and colour, and the cabaletta is bright and playful, and was encored. A general chorus of the two parties to the feud is marked by breadth and a piquancy of treatment, not long sustained, and which fades into comparatively common-place scoring in the mingled choral and solo passages which ensue, and which are varied again à la *Huguenots*, by dance music, the main theme of which is one of the *Tarantula* airs. The ecclesiastical music celebrating the wedding, brings down the act drop. The second act contains a prettyish ballad for Mr. WHITWORTH, "Thy beauty, while it thrills my soul," which was encored, and which is perhaps the gem of the opera; *Sirena's* air, "Like a bright dream;" another ballad, "My happy home," nicely instrumented, and which after much opposition was also encored; with a cavatina for *Monteuc*, forming the main features of the act. A lachrymose plaintive character is common to all the ballads, and their style is so identical as to awaken a tedious feeling of monotony. In the third act, the most dramatic music occurs in the duo for *Monteuc* and *Bianca*, changed to a trio by *Rodolfo's* entrance. The subject is handled with musician-like skill, and the various phases of feeling expressed with a lucidity and breadth of idea which is not common in the opera. The effect, however, was marred by Miss CRICHTON's want of physical power. Her efforts to force a breaking voice were very painful, and occasionally produced absolute discord. After another common-place ballad for *Rodolfo*, *Bianca* being supposed while he is singing it to be in a fainting state, we have the scene of the armourer's cave. The grand chorus to the clanging of the hammers is not effective, although it suggested reminiscences of a similar scene in the *Crown Diamonds*. A pretty rondo from Miss HORTON, "The armourer loves his trade," had something of the piquancy of the opening air. After a reprise *pianissimo* of the conspirators' chorus, we have the entrance of the French soldiers. The proceedings are carried on in recitative, and the act ends with a noisy cursing chorus directed against *Rodolfo*, from which one hardly wonders at the hero's anxiety to fly. The fourth act opens with a chorus of judges, solemn and gravely coloured. There is next a ballad—these eternal ballads which are not ballads—for Mr. SIMS REEVES, and which suggests strong reminiscences of *Fra Diavolo*, if we mistake not. The succeeding duet between *Rodolfo* and *Bianca* was again marred by the failure, at the critical passages, of Miss CRICHTON's voice. There was dramatic energy and excellent intention in her efforts; but she must nurse her physical powers, and learn that all-important vocal secret—to *ménager* the voice. The remainder of the opera fell flatly; the last chorus was an introduced work of an Italian composer, and it brought down the curtain—with applause certainly, but without any symptom of enthusiasm. Mr. BUNN was called, and then a species of laughing demand was made for Mr. BUNN, who told the audience that he had done all he could for them, and would persevere in the same line of policy.

The opera on the whole was respectably given. Mr. SIMS REEVES was in good

voice at the beginning of the evening, but the constant drag upon the higher notes told on his organ, which became coarse and uncertain towards the close. He sang his "ballads," however, with the usual effect. Mr. WHITWORTH was evidently hoarse. His best point was the encored ballad, "Thy beauty, while it thrills my soul;" but latterly his voice was nearly as much broken, and as wildly out of tune as Miss CRICHTON's. Mr. DRAXTON took a small part—that of the necromancer, who gives *Monteuc* the sleeping draught; and Mr. E. O. TOULMIN, whose first appearance it was, went respectably through the not very bright rôle of the Duke. He possesses a bass voice of moderate power and compass. Miss P. HORTON sang her songs, as she always does, with energy and colour; and Miss REBECCA ISAACS gave a couple of ballads with commendable neatness. Miss CRICHTON has much to struggle against in peculiar awkwardness of manner. Her sleep-walking scene was curiously ungraceful, and—meaning to be impassioned in her last scene—she jerked herself up and down in a manner which produced irrepressible laughter. Miss CRICHTON ought seriously to apply herself to the study of the demeanour and bearing necessary for the stage. Without some degree of accomplishment in this respect, the best dramatic music is thrown away. She sang with great purity of tone and delicate justness of intonation, but the general effect was sadly marred by the two *floscos* which we have noticed, but which a little more care and nursing of the voice will easily prevent a repetition of.

In point of getting up, there is nothing original, and little appropriate. Chain armour and Louis Quatorze interiors do not go quite smoothly together, and the grouping and scenic arrangements are such as would be favoured by the oldest fashioned stage-manager. It is not necessary to criticise the English rendering of the *libretto*—it will suffice to say that it is Mr. BUNN's.

FRÉDÉRIC'S DON CÉSAR.

A MORE unfortunate piece, as regards attractiveness, Mr. Mitchell could not have chosen for Frédéric Lemaitre's re-appearance. Every theatre in London and the provinces has had its *Don César de Bazan*, until people are wearied of the name on the bills. Nevertheless, for those who went to see Frédéric there was a treat in store. Perfectly unapproachable is that picturesque, original, fantastic buffoonery—so graceful, and yet so absurd! The *grand d'Espagne* has squandered his fortune, has soiled his reputation in the company of sots and blackguards; but he has preserved his honour, and with it something of the dignity and grace which he inherited with his name—the dignity to be resumed whenever the occasion needs it; the grace abiding! The fiery pleasure of wine—the excitement of the dice-box—the fascination of facile amours—the demoralization of debts have made him a blackguard; but Nature gave him the birthright of a gentleman, and through all his ragged dissoluteness shines the original splendour of his nature: his pourpoint may be old, stained with wine, and torn in a hundred quarrels, but you see it is a pourpoint, and you know what it must have been. Vividly and artistically does Frédéric paint that picture. He has the freedom of a master-hand, conscious of the truth which will appear in its most vagabond caprices! The first three acts are unrivalled. In the two last, there is great fault to be found with him; and I wish to insist more strongly upon his defects, because they are essentially *stagey* errors, and, with the sanction of his immense reputation, are likely to be dangerous.

If there is one thing which separates the Artist from the Actor, it is the subordination of details to a whole—the refusal to make "points" when those "points" are not details of character. All actors sin in this way. Applause is the only test they have; and if they can raise a laugh, the laugh is held as valid warrant for the means which produced it. If you object to an actor for some misplaced action, look, or intonation, he will infallibly reply, "But, you see, it told;" i.e. laughter saluted it. But we have only to extend the licence a little, and its absurdity becomes apparent—we have only, for example, to ask what the effect would be if a *Hamlet*, eager for points, were to "go in for comic business" in his playful scenes: let us suppose him digging his elbow in *Polonius's* ribs, would the certain laughter justify the "point"? Actors forget that an audience may laugh—and despise. The sudden transition may startle risibility, but it will not carry approbation.

I confess how Frédéric, in that scene with the king, made me laugh; but I add, that the muscles of my face had not resumed their quiet condition, before my judgment revolted at the means by which the laughter had been raised. Buffoonery, which was amusing in the earlier scenes, became intolerable as the tragic earnestness of the situation deepened: instead of the wronged husband and dishonoured nobleman (such as that scene demands), he threw over the character the buffoonery of *Robert Macaire*; and this did not leave him even in the final scene, where *Don César* stands forth, imposing, almost heroic.

Efface that stain from his acting, and what a performance it is! What dignity and impassioned grace in the serious passages!—what boundless caprice in the comic! He is the greatest melodramatic actor this age has seen, and unlike all other great actors!

JAMES VI.

MR. PHELPS is deservedly the most successful of managers, and now stands first among our tragic actors. I had a certain hesitation in setting down the last sentence, lest it should look like a sarcasm to talk of tragic actors. Phelps may perhaps think it hard to be classed with Anderson, Charles Kean, W. J. Wallack, or Barry Sullivan, even though he be placed at the head.

On Tuesday, Phelps took his benefit, and for the second time performed the Rev. Mr. White's new play, *James VI.*, remodelled from his *Earl of Gowrie*, published some years ago. It is not a very interesting work, nor do I see how the Gowrie plot is to be made interesting. The present piece depends wholly on the exhibition of the character of *James VI.* (our James I.), and its success is owing to Phelps's admirable acting: pedantic, covetous, cowardly, cunning, James was placed before us with extraordinary vividness, and the effect was unquestionable. It is long since Phelps has had so good a part. The play was mounted with that care and artistic excellence for which Sadler's Wells has a reputation, and its reception was enthusiastic.

THE MARYLEBONE.

Success has rendered the manager of this theatre confident. He now produces his version of that terrible melodrama, *The Corsican Brothers*, and with it will harrow up Portman-market, as Charles Kean does Oxford-street. Kean's "d—d good-natured friends" will hurry to the Marylebone to see whether the Oxford-street or Portman-market hero (Henry Frazer) bears the palm. I haven't seen the *Marylebone* version, but I'll bet two to one on Kean!

ELLA'S MUSICAL EVENINGS.

AMONG the regrets at the treats I have lost lately, owing to the inexorable hours which will wait for no *VIVIANS*, I count that of having missed *Ella's Musical Winter Evenings*, conducted on the principle of his extremely delightful *Musical Union*. A more refined musical evening is not to be had. The music is all of the best, and not too much of it; the artists are those one loves to hear, being men whose celebrity is fully deserved—Ernst, Molique, Patti, Hallé, Pauer, &c.; and the audience is choice, not only in the "exclusive" sense, but also in the musical sense. Lovers of "fast" music find no attraction here; lovers of operatic reminiscences coldly remembered have nothing here to their taste. A quintet of Mozart or Haydn, a sonata of Beethoven, a trio or concerto by Mendelssohn, varied by a couple of songs and a pianoforte solo—that is the whole bill of fare, and I assure you the lover of serious music remembers with pleasure every concert so arranged and executed. As I am in arrears with Mr. Ella, I will conscientiously devote myself to the remaining evenings, *not* that I am peculiarly sensitive about disappointing him, but like Tony Lumpkin, I don't like disappointing myself, and it is a disappointment not to attend his concerts.

VIVIAN.

OUR CLERKS.—THE KEELEYS.

To the English farce, in its common acceptance, I cannot honestly profess attachment; within my remembrance, no new practical joke has been discovered, and the fun is occasionally more dreary than amusing. In fact, when I desire to laugh, it is my custom to go and see a leading tragedian in a part he has "made his own." But when we go to see Buckstone, or Wright, or the Keeleys, we do not care to look at the play-bill: if Buckstone were to play *King John*, or Keeley *Hamlet*, or Mrs. Keeley *Constance*, or Wright *King Lear*, it would be all one to us: we go to see the actor, not the part. Keeley and his wife, as *Our Clerks*, were quite enough to take me to the Princess's last Saturday; not to speak of the *Corsican Brothers* (in which I begin to discern the possibilities of Charles Kean, as the *Ghost* in *Hamlet*, on the improved sliding-scale he has so admirably introduced in this thrilling melodrama). *Our Clerks* are the Keeleys: Mrs. Keeley, the "fast"; Keeley, the "slow." What more can be said to recommend you to go, and laugh to your heart's content. Oh! think of poor Keeley smoking a weed under false pretences: trying to light his cigar—never smoking except when his fast friend's eye is upon him—then gulping down the fatal poison with terrible bravado; presently lolling back, limp and helpless, in his chair; breaking out into a cold sweat, and bending his head like a broken doll; at last, creeping to the window *for a breath of air*; and all this time a running fire of chaff from the fast clerk, and a burst of triumph at the catastrophe! This is the scene in the farce. The rest of the business is neither original nor very funny; and the love business, with the heavy guardian to bring about a happy *dénouement*, is decidedly an incumbrance. But the truth of the picture of the "reading" and the "briefless" man, and of their way of life, is capital; and the language throughout is sparkling and neat. "*Our Clerks*" is a happy contribution to the *répertoire* of the Keeleys.

LE CHAT-HUANT.

Commercial Affairs.

MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY MORNING, March 13.

The apprehension now fast becoming general that the ministerial course of policy will be found antagonistic to the principles of free trade, and that a dissolution of parliament must shortly give rise to a fierce struggle throughout the country, has had a depressing effect upon business, and the transactions of the week have been characterized by an unusual and uniform want of animation.

The failure, for a large amount, of a house in the East India trade, has given cause for unfavourable rumours respecting the stability of others, with what justice must soon be known.

In consols, the operations have been limited, and with little fluctuation in price. The opening quotation on Monday was 97½; on Thursday, after the settlement, which went off quietly, they closed at 97 1/2; and yesterday, at 97½. Bank Stock has advanced to 220. Exchequer Bills are steady at 92s. to 95s. premium.

In the market for Foreign Stocks there has been less doing, but prices are fairly supported.

Railway Shares, with a limited business, are very steady in value.

BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(CLOSING PRICES.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Weds.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock	219	220	220	220	220	shut
5 per Cent. Red.	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½	98½
5 per Cent. Con. Ams.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
5 per Cent. An. 1728	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
5 per Cent. Con. Ac.	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
5½ per Cent. An.	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½	99½
New 5 per Cent.	7	7	7	7	7	shut
Long An., 1860	7½	7	7	7	7	shut
Ind. St. 10½ per Cent.	260	260	260	260	260	shut
Ditto Bonds, £1000	72 p	72 p	75 p	75 p	73 p	73 p
Ex. Bills, £1000	65 p	65 p	62 p	65 p	63 p	63 p
Ditto, £2000	65 p	65 p	62 p	65 p	63 p	63 p
Ditto, Small	65 p	65 p	65 p	62 p	63 p	63 p

FOREIGN FUNDS.

(LAST OFFICIAL QUOTATION DURING THE WEEK ENDING FRIDAY EVENING.)

Brazilian 5 per Cents.	98½	Peruvian	103
Brazilian Small	98½	Peruvian Deferred	54½
Buenos Ayres Bonds	82	Portuguese 4 p. Cents.	33½
Chilian 6 per Cents.	100	Sardinian 5 per Cents.	90½
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	60½	Spanish 5 p. Cent. Acct.	24½
Dutch 4 per Cent. Certif.	93	Spanish 3 per Cents.	42
Ecuador	5	Spanish 3 p. Ct. New Def.	18½
Granada, ex Dec. 1840	23	Spanish Com. Certif.	22
Granada Deferred	10½	Venezuela Bonds	42½
Mexican 3 per Ct. Acc.	32½	Venezuela Deferred	17½

CORN EXCHANGE.

The Corn Market has been dull, and quotations are rather lower.

For sugar and other colonial produce, there has been very little demand, and prices have in many instances given way.

FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, March 12.

BANKRUPT.—D. KEITH and T. SHOORBRIDGE, Wood-street, Chancery-lane, warehousemen, to surrender March 24, April 23; solicitors, Messrs. Reed, Langford, and Marston, Friday-street, Chancery-lane; official assignee, Mr. Stanfeld.

A. LUDLOW, Oxford, builder, March 19, April 22; solicitors, Messrs. Holme and Co., New-inn, official assignee, Mr. Bell, Coleman-street-buildings, Moorgate-street.

W. NOBLEY, Blackpool, Lancashire, post-house keeper, March 23, April 14; solicitors, Messrs. Winstanley and Charnley, Preston; and Messrs. Evans and Son, Liverpool; official assignee, Mr. Casenove, Liverpool.

EDUCATION BY THE SEA.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE, SOMERSET.

The comforts of a happy home, in this very healthy watering place, combined with a complete course of instruction in all the branches of a liberal education, imparted by the best masters, may be enjoyed by Young Gentlemen, on moderate terms, at the Rev. J. HOPKINS' Establishment, Weston Park School.

An articled pupil is desired.

THE ROYAL EXHIBITION.—A valuable

newly-invented, very small, powerful WAISTCOAT POCKET GLASS, the size of a walnut, to discern minute objects at a distance of from four to five miles, which is found to be invaluable to Yachters, Sportsmen, Gentlemen, and Game-keepers. Price 30s., sent free.—TELESCOPES. A new and most important invention in Telescopes, possessing such extraordinary powers, that some, 3½ inches, with an extra eye-piece, will show distinctly Jupiter's Moon, Saturn's Ring, and the Double Stars. They supersede every other kind, and are of all sizes, for the waistcoat pocket, Shooting, Military purposes, &c. Opera and Racecourse Glasses, with wonderful powers; a minute object can be clearly seen from ten to twelve miles distant. Invaluable, newly-invented Preserving Spectacles; invisible and all kinds of Acoustic Instruments for relief of extreme Deafness. —Messrs. S. and B. SOLOMONS, Opticians and Aurists, 39, Albemarle Street, Piccadilly, opposite the York Hotel.

STEAM TO INDIA, CHINA, &c.

Particulars of the regular Monthly Mail Steam Conveyance and of the additional lines of communication, now established by the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company with the East, &c. The Company book passengers, and receive goods and parcels as heretofore for CEYLON, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, PENANG, SINGAPORE, and HONG KONG, by their steamers, starting from SOUTHAMPTON on the 20th of every month, and from SUEZ on or about the 8th of the month.

The next extra Steamer will be despatched from Southampton for Alexandria on the 3rd of April next, in combination with an extra Steamer, to leave Calcutta on or about March 20. Passengers may be booked, and goods and parcels forwarded, by these extra steamers to or from SOUTHAMPTON, ALEXANDRIA, ADEN, CEYLON, MADRAS, and CALCUTTA.

BOMBAY.—The Company will book passengers throughout from Southampton to Bombay by their steamers leaving England on the 20th February, 20th March, and of alternate months thereafter, such passengers being conveyed from Aden to Bombay by their steamers appointed to leave Bombay on the 17th February, 1st of April, and 1st of alternate months thereafter, and affording, in connexion with the steamers leaving Calcutta on the 8th of February, 20th of March, and of alternate months thereafter, direct conveyance for passengers, parcels, and goods from Bombay and Western India.

Passengers for Bombay can also proceed by this Company's Steamers of the 29th of the month to Malta, thence to Alexandria by her Majesty's steamers, and from Suez by the Honourable East India Company's steamers.

MEDITERRANEAN.—MALTA.—On the 20th and 29th of every month. CONSTANTINOPLE.—On the 29th of the month. ALEXANDRIA.—On the 20th of the month. The rates of passage money on these lines have been materially reduced.

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.—VIGO, OPORTO, LISBON, CADIZ, and GIBRALTAR, on the 7th, 17th, and 27th of the month.

N.B.—Steam-ships of the Company now ply direct between Calcutta, Penang, Singapore, and Hong Kong, and between Hong Kong and Shanghai.

For further information and tariffs of the Company's recently revised and reduced rates of passage-money and freight, and for plans of the vessels, and to secure passages, &c., apply at the Company's Offices, 122, Leadenhall-street, London, and Oriental-place, Southampton.

WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATIONS.—

The undermentioned Associations of Journeymen of various Trades have commenced business at the addresses below given; and now call upon a fair-dealing and Christian public for the support of its custom and influence. The miseries of unlimited competition, the abuse of the powers of capital, have long taught the working classes that union is their only strength; but painful experience has likewise shown that strength to be but wasted, for the most part, in combinations for the raising of wages, in the forced idleness of strikes. By united labour, therefore, they now seek to maintain themselves and their families; and if not always able to compete with the nominal cheapness of the shopkeeper or the low-priced tradesman, they hope, in the quality and workmanship of their goods, to guarantee to all customers the fullest value of their orders; whilst those who look beyond the work to the worker—who feel that custom itself has its morality, and that the working classes of England have been stinted of their due reward in money, health, knowledge, and all that makes the man, will surely rejoice in aiding a movement which tends to substitute airy workshops for dens of filth and fever—fair prices for starvation wages—fellowship for division—and moral as well as practical self-government for mechanical obedience or thraldom bitterly felt—and by the peaceful, healthy, intelligent, and gradual processes of labour to check for ever the blind and sudden struggles of want. For such men there will be scarcely a criminal or beggar, scarcely a pauper, prostitute, or drunkard, but will supply a living argument for associated labour.

Working Tailors' Association, 34, Castle-street, Oxford-street. North London Needlomen's Association, 31, Red Lion-square.

Working Printers' Association, 44, Johnson's-court, Fleet-street.

Pimlico Working Builders' Association, Bridge-row Wharf Buildings, Upper Tachbrook-street, and Co-operative Coal Depot, Bridge-row Wharf, Pimlico.

North London Working Builders' Association, 4, All Saints-places, Caledonian-road.

Working Pianoforte Makers' Association, 5, Charles-street, Drury-lane.

City Working Tailors' Association, 23, Callum-street, Fenchurch-street.

Working Shoemakers' Association, 11, Tottenham-court-road. Southampton Working Tailors' Association, 18, Bernard-street, Southampton.

Salford Working Hatters' Association, 12, Broughton-road, Salford, Manchester.

Central Office of the London Working Men's Association, 75, Charlotte-street, Fitzroy-square.

Read the "Journal of Association," published Weekly, price One Penny. J. J. Bester, 153, Fleet-street.

TO THE INDUSTRIAL CLASSES.—Suppose a man at the age of thirty, wishes to leave £20 to his widow, children, or any one whom he chooses, he will have to pay 10d. per month, or about the cost of one pint of beer per week, so long as he lives; but if he should die the next day after the first payment, his family will receive the £20.

Should a person be unable to continue the Assurance, the sum paid will not be forfeited as in other Offices, as he will be granted another Policy of less amount, but equivalent to the sums already paid, and exonerated from any future payments.

The Directors of the

NATIONAL PROVINCIAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY

propose to extend the benefits of Life Assurance to all its details, to all classes of the community—in fact, to the millions generally, by adapting the modes of payments to meet their views and circumstances.

The Rates of premium for every other system of Assurance, detailed Prospectuses, containing a list of the Shareholders of the Society, and every other information, will be readily afforded on application to the Secretary, at the Chief Offices of the Society, 34, Moorgate Street, Bank, London; at the Branch Offices, Queen's Chambers, Market Street, Manchester; or to any of the Agents appointed in the principal towns throughout the United Kingdom.

TRAfalgar LIFE ASSURANCE ASSOCIATION.

Chief Office, 40, Pall Mall, London.

Fully subscribed capital of £250,000, by upwards of 1000 Shareholders, whose names and addresses are published with the Prospectus, guaranteeing thereby most extensive influence and undoubted responsibility.

The system adopted by this Association presents unusual advantages to every class of life assurers and annuitants.

Loans are granted on personal or other securities, in connexion with Life Assurance.

Applications for Prospectuses, Forms of Proposal, Agencies, and all other information respecting the general business of the Association, are requested to be made to

THOMAS H. BAYLIS, Manager.

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Total last 3 Years	2582	4255,265	5083	£2,016,434

Persons assuring in 1852 participate in the next Division of Profits.

Loans granted to Members to the full Amount of their Assurance, and the Legal Expenses paid by the Company.

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W. M. SHAW, Managing Director.

TO DEPOSITORS AND ACTUARIES IN SAVINGS' BANKS.

A perusal is invited of the new and important plan of INDUSTRIAL LIFE ASSURANCE, which has been prepared for the purpose of extending the benefits of Life Assurance among the industrious classes. Applications for Prospectuses may be addressed to ARTHUR SCRATCHLEY, M.A., Actuary to the WESTERN LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, 3, PARLIAMENT STREET, LONDON, and Author of "OBSERVATIONS ON SAVINGS' BANKS," published by J. W. Parker, 445, West Strand, London: price 6s.

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Cards of membership for the ensuing year, or half-year, are now ready.

Subscriptions.—Gentlemen's annual subscriptions, £2 2s.; half-yearly, £1 1s.; country members, annual, £1 1s. No entrance fees or gratuities to waiters.

Full prospectuses of the Institution may be obtained in the Secretary's office. Office hours 10 till 10.

WILLIAM STRUDWICKE, Sec.

NOTICE.—A PUBLIC MEETING will be held in the LITERARY INSTITUTION, JOHN STREET, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, on MONDAY EVENING, March 22nd, 1852, at Eight o'clock, to explain the advantages connected with the UNITED PATRIOTS' NATIONAL BENEFIT SOCIETY, and the BRITISH EMPIRE FREEHOLD LAND and BUILDING SOCIETY. Mr. D. W. RUFFY, Secretary, and Mr. W. C. WORLEY, of Addlestone, Surrey, will attend and address the Meeting.—Admittance, Free.

BLEAK HOUSE.

BY CHARLES DICKENS.

Advertisements for the Second Number are requested to be sent to the Publishers by the 22nd, and Bills by the 24th instant, to prevent disappointment.

11, BOUVERIE STREET, FLEET STREET.

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THE SCHOOL FOR FATHERS; an Old English Story. In One Volume. [Just ready.]

THE LILY OF ST. PAUL'S; a Romance of Old London. By the Author of "TREVELLA." In Three Volumes. [Nearly ready.]

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THE TWO FAMILIES; an Episode in the History of CHAPELTON. By the Author of "ROD DOUGLAS." 2 vols. post 8vo. [Just published.]

AGATHA BEAUFORT; or, FAMILY PRIDE. By the Author of "PIQUE." 3 vols. post 8vo. [Just published.]

London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 65, Cornhill. This day is published, price 6d. each, or bound in cloth, complete in One Vol., 2s. 6d.

HOW TO SEE THE BRITISH MUSEUM. In Four Visits. By W.M. BLANCHARD JERROLD. This day is published, price 1s.

THE FRENCH IN ENGLAND; or, Both Sides of the Question on Both Sides of the Channel. Being the Story of the Emperor Napoleon's projected Invasion. Bradbury and Evans, 11, Bouverie Street. This day is published, price 1s.

Published Monthly, price 6d.

THE BIOGRAPHICAL MAGAZINE. No. I., for JANUARY, contains: Louis Napoleon—John Bannin—Jean Paul Richter—Marshal Soult—The late Bishop of Norwich—Kossuth.

No. II., for FEBRUARY, contains: Jean Paul Richter, Part 2—Dr. Chalmers, Part 1—Lord George Bentinck—J.W. Turner—Michael Angelo—Lord Palmerston.

No. III., for MARCH, contains: Dr. Chalmers (concluded)—Shelley—Niebuhr—Thomas Chatterton—Lord Palmerston (concluded).

London: J. Passmore Edwards, 2, Horse Shoe Court, Ludgate Hill.

Just published, price 3s. 6d.

THE MASTER ENGINEERS and their WORKMEN.—THREE LECTURES, on the Relation of Capital and Labour, delivered by request of the Society for Promoting Working Men's Associations, at the Marylebone Literary and Scientific Institution, on the 13th, 20th, and 27th of February, 1852. By J. M. LUDLOW, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law.

London: John James Beazier, 183, Fleet Street; and by order of all Booksellers.

SOCIETY of the FRIENDS of ITALY. Just published, price 2d., with Notes, M. MAZZINI'S LECTURE, delivered at the First Conversations of this Society. Also, price 1d., the Society's "Monthly Record" for March.

The next CONVERSAZIONE of the Society will be held in the Great Room, Freemasons' Tavern, Great Queen-street, on WEDNESDAY EVENING, March 24, at half-past 7 for 8 o'clock precisely. The Lecture by GEORGE DAWSON, Esq., M.A.; after which M. MAZZINI and other speakers will address the meeting. Tickets of admission for members of the Society, 1s.; for ladies and gentlemen, non-members, 1s. 6d. each—may be obtained, prior to the meeting, at the Society's offices, 10, Southampton-street, Strand.

Already published by the Society:—"Address to the Public" 2d.; Tract on "Non-Intervention," 1d.; "Refutation of the Charge of Terrorism in Rome during the Republic," 2d.; "The Sicilian Revolution," 2d. To be had of Messrs. Kent and Co., Paternoster-row; Ellingham Wilson, Royal Exchange; C. Gilpin, Bishopsgate-street Without, and all Booksellers; also at the Society's Offices.

LONDON: Printed by GEORGE HOOPER, (of No. 3, Portland Place, Kensington, in the County of Middlesex,) at the Office of MESSRS. SAWYER AND EDWARDS, 60, Castle-street, in the Parish of St. Paul, Clerkenwell, in the same County; and Published by T. T. T. LEADER, HIGH HORN, (of Broadway House, Hammersmith,) at THE LEADER OFFICE, No. 10, WELLINGTON STREET, STRAND, in the Precinct of the Savoy, both in the same County—SATURDAY, March 13, 1852.